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# West Europe Report

THESES FOR 43RD ITALIAN  
SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS  
Verona, 11 - 15 May 1984

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8 May 1984

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

### THESES FOR 43RD ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS

VERONA, 11 - 15 MAY 1984

[Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 1-20]

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## THESES FOR 43RD ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS

### New Thrust to Europe

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 2-3

[Article: "For the Revival of Europe"]

[Text] The Socialists must commit themselves to promoting an updating of the content of the Community integration so as to make reform of the treaties possible.

The PSI has developed incisive political action in recent years, and in that context it has carried on far-reaching cultural reflection, both activities having the end-purpose of reawakening public life in our country.

The Socialist Proposal approved by the Congress of Turin, the Theses of the Palermo Congress and the positions worked out at the Rimini Conference are the waypoints on the road of cultural reawakening that the PSI has traveled. The defense of the rationale of Western democracy and of European reformism in the period of national unity, the capacity for guaranteeing the governability of the country in the course of the Eighth Legislature, and the winning initiative carried out against the restorational and neocenterist temptations that were flourishing in the Italian political system: these are the waypoints in the reawakening of political life that the PSI has contributed to.

In 1976, at the beginning of the reawakening process started by the PSI, the two major parties could count on a solid hegemony over Italian political life. In 1983, the situation took on quite different connotations. A new articulation of the Italian political system was achieved. A new political culture is being laboriously asserted. The "Italian case" has finally become an element in the political and cultural context of Europe and is no longer cited as an atypical example virtually capable of revolutionary outcomes. The Socialist milieu and the intermediate lay forces have regained a specific function and an autonomous space. The same two major political forces, each with its own characteristic and its identity, have undergone profound processes of change.



The Socialist presidency, which marks an important shift in our country's political balances, is the guarantee of a process of renovation and modernization of the institutions and of Italian society. The PSI's outlooks are in turn closely linked to definitive renovation of our political system, in accordance with the characteristics of European democracy, and to a reawakening of the Italian left, in the search for a modern reformism and in rejection of modern archaic pseudorevolutionisms. The PSI wants to be the expression of modern Italy as the daughter of the world of labor and of the world of production, desirous of peace, liberty and justice, the party of progress and equality, capable of guiding the country in the years of transition that are beginning, the Socialist Party of a European Italy, and the party of the most coherent and constructive Europeanism.

On the eve of the elections for the second European Parliament, the PSI calls on the Italians to commit themselves to the political unity of Europe, to the recovery and renovation of our economic and institutional life, to the modernization of our country.

- 1) A process of transformation and redistribution of political power and economic power is under way on a worldwide scale.

From the military point of view, the breaking of the global balance of power, triggered at the end of the 1970's by rearmament and by Soviet expansionism, and the lack of a solution for, or an aggravation of, the conflicts and the regional crises--in the Middle East, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America--are multiplying the risks to peace, raising the international tension and stimulating the rearmament race. From another point of view, the draining and weakening of the international organizations are reducing the possibility of peaceful mediation and vitiating the search for a more just international order.

All the structures around which the relations between states, between groups of states and between opposing alliances have been getting organized are in obvious trouble today. East-West, North-South, West-West, South-South: institutionalized dialogue is running up against obstacles or hiatuses everywhere. Never have the outlooks for consolidation of peace and for the broadening of democracy, the rights of the peoples and fundamental human rights, which were the presuppositions on which the community had rebuilt itself after World War II, appeared so uncertain and confused as today. It is in this scenario of disorder and of growing recourse to violence that the industrial restructuring induced by the third technological revolution is being set--a restructuring that is accelerating change and is introducing, alongside the old and unresolved conflicts, new occasions for conflict, new temptations to recourse to force, whether it is economic or military.

#### The Problems of Europe

- 2) In the face of these transformations, the European Community and the member countries are letting themselves be paralyzed by the suggestions of a false political realism, proving themselves incapable of overcoming a state of permanent litigiousness, a posture of national isolationism, in order to

restore conviction and force to the effort to achieve continental unity. Industrial production in the Community increased by 8 percent from 1973 to 1981, while in the same period, that of the United States increased by 16 percent, and that of Japan by 26 percent. The research expenditures made by the 10 member countries of the EEC are about double those of the Japanese (\$500 million on microprocessors, to give an example, as against \$250 million by Japan); yet the European microprocessor industry represents only 10 percent of the world market and is not managing to supply the domestic market, beyond a percentage that barely reaches 40 percent. From 1973 to 1983, employment decreased by 3 million in the Community and increased by 15 million in the United States.

These are data that describe the dimension of the economic threat that hangs over the Europe of the divisions. This situation is the result of a paralysis of the process of economic integration in the EEC, which is afflicted by a unbalanced agricultural policy, by the lack of a common research and industrial policy and by a European Monetary System that has to be filled out.

In the EEC there are 10 industrial policies in competition with one another and a market that is equally compartmentalized. There are no "European" firms, and cooperation among the firms of the member countries is at the lowest level. Public demand, which plays an essential role in the sector of the technologies and information, is locked into autarchic limitations.

3) Equally serious are the consequences of the division on the level of security, because an economically and politically weak Europe can only suffer passively the consequences of the direct confrontation between the two major powers. The member countries of the EEC are also (with the exception of Ireland) members of the Atlantic Alliance. That membership is not under discussion, but it does exempt the European countries from any responsibility of theirs or from having their own capacity to take action on the problems of peace, of security, of balanced and controlled disarmament, of development on the world scale, taking into account the fact that the need for security does not require the giving of military responses only.

As on other occasions in the United Nations, in the Stockholm Conference, the Ten have succeeded in presenting themselves with a single voice, which shows that it is possible to strengthen a Community "political cooperation" that explicitly takes on the problems of defense, of security, of detente. And this within a broader framework of initiative that seeks common positions on the important international questions, such as the Middle East, the recurring African crises, Latin America, the crises in Asia and the Far East, East-West relations. With regard to East-West relations, the geopolitical position of the FRG represents a datum that must be the subject of unified reflection by the member countries of the EEC. The FRG is in fact a border country which, in addition, maintains "special" relations with the GDR, as the other part of the German nation. It is a situation that poses complex problems to the FRG, especially of a military and trade kind. They are problems for which solutions can be found only within a European Community that considers them part of its own collective responsibilities and in

terms such as to guarantee that all the member states of a united Europe have a position and an international role.

#### Role and Function of the EEC

4) It is therefore necessary for the European peoples to react to the decline of their countries on the level of economic and industrial development, and that they resist the gradual abandonment of the values of international collaboration, the weakening of faith between governments, the decay of the function of the United Nations, the growing use of force for solution of international controversies, and the superpowers' tendency to favor the strengthening of their respective military formations.

To this end, a politically united Europe could make a decisive contribution, on the basis of establishment of a permanent dialogue with the United States on the great world economic and political questions and question of security, in an "equal partnership" relationship.

It is necessary to find the way for a revival of the Community which, through strengthening of its political identity, will restore to Europe the degree of influence and the function that are its due, in the interest of the equilibrium, stability and economic development both of the member countries and of the world.

To this end, we consider it indispensable to conclude as quickly as possible the negotiations for the entry of Spain and Portugal into the EEC, not only as an element capable of aiding in the consolidation of democracy in those countries and in the Community as a whole but also for the enrichment that such membership would give to the relations between Europe and other continents--Africa and Latin America, for example.

#### A Challenge for the Socialist Movement

5) One challenge that Europe faces has to do particularly with the socialist movement and the trade-union and workers' movement. The effects of the political and economic crisis, added to a revival of conservative ideas and policies on the part of the forces of the right, constitute a special threat to the values and conquests that are those of European socialism. The principles of solidarity, equality, justice, the right to work, protection of the weakest groups among the population, together with defense of peace and independence and the quest for development, especially for the less well-developed areas of the world, are running the risk of being overturned.

The threat is so serious that the European socialist parties may not entertain any illusions about confronting it by operating in loose order or limiting themselves to working within their national frameworks. Only unitary, coherent and long-lasting action by the socialists can ensure the consensus of the workers and of public opinion and the means necessary for the defense and revival of the values and objectives that are proper to the European socialist tradition. These objectives necessarily include that of economic democracy, as the indispensable complement of political democracy, in the

face of the tragedy of mass unemployment and the gigantic process of the restructuring and changeover of production induced both by the technological revolution and by the new international division of labor. Within this framework, attention to the European Confederation of Trade Unions, support for initiatives that go in the direction of establishing a system of industrial relations based on contracting and concertation, on the Community level too, are actions that characterize the European socialist commitment.

In addition to the Socialist International, a growing role is being played, to this end, by the Union of Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties of the EEC member countries and the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, in both of which the PSI is participating fully.

#### The Initiative of Italy and of the Italian Socialists

6) On the national level, Italy and the Italian Socialists must commit themselves at all levels, with coherence and courage not disconnected from a farsighted evaluation of the national interests, to promote and achieve a reconsideration and updating of the content and rules of Community integration, creating the conditions that make possible the continuance and success of the initiative for reform of the Treaties of Rome and for the European Union, as initiated 2 years ago, now, by the European Parliament.

The European Parliament has shown that it is an important place for working out proposals and for mediation among the interests of the 10 countries and among the different political orientations that characterize the various parliamentary groups, and even within them. Many resolutions have been approved by a large majority of the Parliament, on the most diverse subjects--economic and social, cultural and foreign policy--but they have remained blocked on the table of the EEC Council of Ministers, who are incapable of choosing and deciding.

The European Socialist Groups has committed itself particularly to the battle for economic revival, the fight against unemployment, industrial democracy; for equality of rights as between men and women; for safeguarding of the environment; for activation of cooperation with the developing countries, against hunger in the world; for support of the struggle for human rights, liberty and democracy in every part of the world. The results have been insufficient, however, on account of the inadequacy of the Community institutions.

#### Emigrants

7) Special attention has been devoted by the Socialist group--because of, among other things, the particular initiative of the Italian members of the European Parliament--to the problems of the emigrants, who represent the weakest social group that faces the economic crisis and the tragedy of unemployment.

The protection of emigrants involves the struggle for improvement of and respect for the existing norms on protection of the emigrants and their

families, in the area of the right to work, adequate schooling, civil rights and progress toward the objective of recognition of political rights for the emigrants, on the basis of the active and passive election law in the local administrations.

#### Institutional Reform of the EEC

8) The proposed new treaty for establishment of the European Union, which has been approved by the European Parliament and goes beyond the present limits of the EEC, reforms the Community institutions in a realistic way, establishing the Union's competencies, considered "subsidiary" and therefore complementary vis-a-vis the national competencies.

In substance, the powers of the European institutions are redefined, so as to ensure an effective decision-making mechanism, applied to those policies and those tasks which, by agreement among the member states, are assigned to the European Union itself.

In particular, the powers of the European Parliament are strengthened and broadened, not only as regards the control function but also as regards the Union's legislative function, to be exercised in a relationship of joint decision-making as between the Parliament itself and the Council of Ministers.

This proposed new treaty will be submitted by the European Parliament to the national parliaments and governments of the member countries within the coming months. On the part of the PSI, all the initiatives necessary for creating the proper conditions for ratification of it by our country will be taken.

The commitment for strengthening the role and powers of the European Parliament and for a new Union treaty gives a specific political meaning to the second direct elections and makes the balloting an initiative for effective democratic mobilization.

#### Creating a Coherent Europeanist Nucleus

9) On the other hand, our national commitment must be exercised through urgent bilateral and multilateral political initiatives, especially as regards the Community's founding countries, and among these, France and the FRG, which, together with Italy, must be called on to constitute a coherent Europeanist nucleus, capable of carrying out a central and driving role for revival of the Community and the setting-up of the European Union. The Italian Socialists' initiative is being developed along that line, within the framework of the Parliamentary Group and the European socialist movement.

#### Reactivating the Community

10) In the short term, the problems sadly brought out by the negative results of the Stuttgart and Athens summits, solution of which is made even more urgent by the continuing growth of unemployment and by the necessary broadening of the Community to include Spain and Portugal, must be tackled.

In particular, the problems are: coordination of national economic policies; reform and rebalancing of the Common Agricultural Policy, taking the Mediterranean countries' production into account; adoption of new common industrial and research policies, in the new-technology sectors; unification of the EEC's internal market; increasing the EEC's own financial resources; expansion of cooperation with the countries of the Third World, as a condition for mutual development; overhaul of social and regional policy, with the objective of correcting the territorial imbalances and of fighting unemployment, especially among youth; and broadening of cultural cooperation.

Strengthening of the role of the ECU [European Currency Unit], which has now become an important medium of exchange in the financial market, and filling-out of the European Monetary System through setting-up of the European Monetary Fund, are essential measures for the economic reactivation of the EEC and as an instrument for rationalization of the international monetary system.

In addition, two questions, within this context, involve our national responsibilities in a specific way. The first has to do with overcoming our inability to make use of the Community funds and to translate the Community directives into national laws. The other has to do with the upgrading of our economic and administrative structures to European levels of efficiency, both in order to favor our development and to contribute better to development of the Community.

#### Specific Action for the Mediterranean

11) The changes that have occurred in the world balance of forces in recent years are proving to be especially important in the Mediterranean. Two wars are being fought intermittently in the area: the one in Lebanon, with its connections with the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the one between Iran and Iraq. These wars are increasing the instability in the region and the confrontation between the two superpowers in it.

This situation is reflecting negatively on the efforts being made in Europe to negotiate better security conditions. Indeed, it is contributing to maintenance of strong tension between the Western countries and the countries of the East. This tension is affecting the dynamic of the current deployment of nuclear weapons in the European theater, making it difficult to stop. Contributing to reestablishment of conditions of peace in the Mediterranean is therefore a priority interest of Italy and of Europe.

As regards the ways for reestablishing peace, there is not a sufficient context within the Atlantic Alliance. The persistence of unresolved conflicts within the region generates frustrations that translate into exacerbated nationalisms and religious fanaticisms. Syrian nationalism, Iran's religious fanaticism, and the impulses to expansionism that are triggered by both these movements can be contained and abated only if a solution is found for the problem of the Palestinians and of Transjordan, within the framework of a negotiation among the parties directly concerned. Only if a solution of the Palestinian problem is found will a more realistic rebuilding of conditions for a more stable peace for the entire region finally be made possible.



The Europeans and the Italians, in accepting the task of taking action in the region, must use the authority that derives from this in order to arrive, with the United States, at policies appropriate for bringing peace there.

12) The Community's Mediterranean policy--a key element in the development of the countries of the region, including the European ones--must be profoundly changed in its objectives and management. The emphasis placed on the availability and penetrability of the Community market, in favor of the agricultural production of the countries bordering the Mediterranean, has deflected toward the agricultural-exports sector resources and efforts that should more appropriately have been devoted to the industrial development of those same countries, and especially to development of their agro-alimentary production. Consequently, two paradoxes are present in the Mediterranean economy today: on the one hand, the Community, through the association system, has offered the maximum liberalization in the industrial sector, but the countries concerned have not profited from it; and on the other hand, in the face of a modernized and flourishing agricultural-exports sector, there has been a decline in the capacities of those countries to produce their own food, along with increasingly large importation of foodstuffs by the Community itself.

In parallel with the fundamental changes necessary in agricultural policy, equally important changes in industrial policy seem necessary. The current protectionism, in the petroleum-related sectors and in the textile sector must be reduced, albeit with the necessary graduality. Investments and joint enterprises, useful in accelerating and balancing a new international division of labor, must be encouraged. In the division of labor, petrochemical and chemical, one must look farsightedly toward a broader future and penetrating cooperation, and therefore go beyond abandonment of the simpler and more obsolete sectors.

The economic development of the Mediterranean countries reflects the Community's fundamental political interest in greater independence and solidity for them. The significance, for Europe, of the crisis that continues to grip the region would be quite different if the countries of the Mediterranean had better-consolidated democracy and a solidly developed economy. These countries--or at least the most important of them--are making great efforts to strengthen their own economies and have achieved quite a few successes in recent years.

They have developed their manufacturing industries and in certain sectors have raised the level of reciprocal complementarity. The Community is decisive in ensuring their complementary international factors, so as to bring this phase of their growth to completion. It is therefore necessary, for reasons of mutual interest, for the Community to overhaul and deepen its Mediterranean policy, on the basis of revival of the "global policy" postulated in 1972 and then set aside, and of the subsequent improvement of the preferential agreements made with 10 countries bordering the Mediterranean.

Expansion of the Community to include Spain and Portugal poses tricky problems in the area of the trade exchanges between the European Community and the Mediterranean countries. It is necessary to establish coordination between the membership negotiations and a review of relations with the Mediterranean countries, so as not to penalize their development efforts.

The ongoing effort and deepening of the process of the economic and political integration of Europe are not easy undertakings, even though they correspond to the interests and aspirations of the Europeans.

They involve a complex initiative, one that must be capable of mobilizing sizable political and social forces, on the basis of the socialist and social-democratic parties, and one that must be capable of seizing, in a timely manner, the opportunities for diplomatic negotiation that the situation offers.

Today, the priority ground for Europe's action is the one identified with the search for /economic revival/ (central to which are strengthening of the EMS [European Monetary System], a common research and industrial policy, and deepening of cooperation with the developing countries) and the fight against unemployment, the search for peace and for definition of a common security policy, for reform of the institutions and for approval of a new treaty for the European Union.

#### Peace, Security, Italy's Independence

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 4-5

[Article: "For the Peace, Security and Independence of Italy"]

[Text] Identifying the instruments and procedures that can start up a new constructive process that guarantees the maximum disarmament possible in Europe.

14) The foundation of a socialist policy for peace is a return to detente in international relations. There can be no stable peace without restoration of a climate of mutual trust, not only between the superpowers but also in all the areas in which the tendency toward conflict predominates over the search for political and peaceful solutions to the conflicts in progress.

In addition, the deterioration of the relations between the superpowers has dangerously affected the relations among many of the minor powers--relations that have then resulted in armed conflicts in which each of the contending sides has striven to obtain political backing and military aid from the major powers, aggravating the risk that any one of the minor conflicts currently under way could lead to a direct confrontation between the powers that have nuclear weaponry.

While the European continent has so far remained immune to such a risk, the modification of states of tension or of armed conflict in many zones of the Mediterranean, from the Middle East to the Persian Gulf, has thus extended



the threats of conflict to areas of Mediterranean Europe heretofore considered marginal as regards, among other things, the purposes of a balance of the conventional forces between the two alliances in Europe.

15) The abandonment of detente between the great powers, along with the subordination of any negotiation on disarmament to the achieving of positions of force in Europe, has produced a general result that is feeding the fear of war--and in particular, a nuclear confrontation limited to Europe--that cannot leave indifferent all those who, after World War II, proposed the objective of creating institutions and procedures for reconciliation that could bring any form of movement toward conflict and any peril of new wars into a peaceful framework, guaranteed by new forms of positive international law. Thus, there has been--as happened in the second decade of the period between the two World Wars--an increasingly disturbing decline of institutions such as the United Nations and its Security Council and of instruments such as the U.N. Charter and the numerous agreements, including the Helsinki Final Act, intended for guaranteeing not only the peaceful solution of international conflicts but also the civil and human rights of individuals and of the peoples.

16) Disarmament has thus become a secondary objective in the relations between the great powers, especially the nuclear powers, and the unanimous yearning for general, balanced and controlled disarmament following the end of World War II has gradually changed into increasingly restrictive forms of renunciation of the arms race, such as simple limitation of the arms race, or, even more limitedly, control of that race for the sole purpose of keeping one of the two great powers from achieving such superiority as to induce it to a surprise attack against the other side. So that the downgrading of the goal of reduction of armaments to control of their growth has ended up making the two superpowers base their own security exclusively, and that of their respective allies partially, on a deterrence that is due to the mutual conviction that the power of nuclear reprisal by the side attack would lead to "MAD" (Mutual Assured Destruction).

17) This state of deterioration of the disarmament negotiations (which at the end of 1983 ended in interruption of all the channels of negotiation except the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe, agreed upon at the conclusion of the triennial conference, in Madrid, for review of the Helsinki agreements) has been caused decisively by, among other things, the bilateral and substantially bilateral character [as published] (i.e., Soviet-American) of all the decision-making negotiation framework in this area. This bilateralization of the negotiations on disarmament, especially in the nuclear field, has been the direct consequence of a security policy based more exclusively all the time on nuclear armament. Since the security of all the territories comprised in the area of the Atlantic Alliance or in that of the Warsaw Pact has been founded ever more exclusively on the threat of recourse to nuclear deterrence from the first phases of an eventual East-West conflict, it was logical for the efforts to achieve a reduction, a limitation or control of nuclear armament to be managed by the two nuclear superpowers, with a tendency by the minor nuclear powers to strengthen their own national nuclear armament, for the main or exclusive

purpose of defending the "national sanctuary," with a form of deterrence christened, by the French, the "weak-against-strong" type. In this way, the growing United States-USSR trend toward conflict has affected the course of the disarmament negotiations and therefore the security of all the nations that are allies of the one superpower or the other.

#### The Crisis of Detente

18) This deterioration has extended also to areas distant from the East-West one--that is, Europe--leading the superpowers to to ensure positions of power for themselves not only in the area of nuclear armaments but also in the logistical area. The era of armed intervention by the Soviet Union in areas surrounding its own borders in East Europe, up to the affirmation, on the occasion of the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs in 1968, of the "doctrine of limited sovereignty" of the other communist-regime states, had seemed to have ended, after the conclusion of a series of bilateral disarmament agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union--especially the SALT-I and SALT-II agreements (the latter not ratified, but so far substantially respected), and after the conclusion of the Helsinki Agreement of 1975, reached among all the European nations plus the United States and Canada, but not including Albania. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979 and the war still in progress in that country, which does not come under the Yalta agreements of 1945, the Soviet pressures on Poland from 1980 on, and the United States' actions in Central America after the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua, culminating in the invasion of the island of Grenada, have reestablished an atmosphere of conflict that had, moreover, been preceded by the actions carried out by the Soviet Union indirectly in North Yemen, in the former Portuguese colonies, in Ethiopia.

19) The crisis of detente has thus led to a crisis in international relations in general, and in particular, the relations between the two superpowers, as well as to a series of local conflicts that are increasingly threatening and uncontrollable. From this crisis in international relations has emerged the crisis of the institutions created in the postwar period for preserving the peace, and in particular, the crisis in all the disarmament negotiation forums dominated by the superpowers. Although this crisis does not yet constitute a direct threat to peace, and does not contain the elements of a possible development of this atmosphere of conflict to the level of a nuclear confrontation, it nevertheless represents one of the lowest points in international relations from the end of the war until today. This crisis, which has brought the development of a general state of anxiety in all the peoples, especially the European ones, cannot and must not be endured passively by anyone who is capable of making a contribution to the resolution of it.

20) Such resolution cannot, however, be limited to purely verbal and weak-willed acts of protest, although the pacifist protest itself, however expressed, has full rights of legitimacy in a situation of such great uncertainty. It must begin with an analysis of the causes of this situation and must seek the realistic ways by which our country, and the democratic and socialist movement within it, can work to rebuild the tottering edifice of

peace. If there is no peace without detente, still it must, indeed, be asserted forcefully that there can be no detente without security. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union will be able to resume the dialogue on detente so long as they feel that their own security is threatened. On the other hand, one must not entertain the illusion of having to come to accounts with the United States or the Soviet Union in a way that suits one side or the other or as suits one or another of the minor nations. They have to be taken for what they are. One may not, to be sure, start from an American conception that represents the Soviet Union as the "empire of evil" or as the seat of a socialist ideology that has to be wiped off the face of the earth. Nor may one credit a Soviet conception that views the United States as the dark power plant of an imperialism that is intent solely on working out a plot to eliminate the Soviet Union. Rather, one must accept the states with ideologies as diverse as they are, striving to develop [as published] the elements of distrust and suspiciousness that still subsist among the leadership groups.

21) The security of the superpowers and restoration of a climate of trust in their bilateral relations, so as to permit a return to detente and a revival of the policy of armaments reduction, are not in themselves sufficient for guaranteeing the security of the minor nations, which cannot remain eternally in the condition of nuclear protectorate, of hostage to the guarantor powers. Until the conditions for overcoming the division of Europe and of the world into opposed areas under the hegemony of the superpowers and organized in two different alliances are created, it will not, however, be possible to dismantle the structure that has so far guaranteed the peace at least in Europe and the security of the individual European nations. The defect in the proposal for unilateral disarmament--atomic or even conventional--of individual nations lies precisely in the fact that it removes a brick from that tottering edifice without replacing it with alternative systems capable of ensuring the collective security.

22) It is therefore necessary to start with the elements of instability that still subsist in Europe in order to arrive at identification of the instruments and procedures that could start up a new constructive process that would guarantee the maximum disarmament possible in Europe, with the necessary collective and individual security of each of the nations of our continent, whether or not they are included in the two big military alliances that face one another on the two sides of the border between East Europe and West Europe. A different posture for Europe, after the end of World War II, would perhaps have been preferable. But the Soviet military build-up, with the totality of its conventional forces, which still today are more than anything that would be required for simple self-defense, so that it occupies a buffer position in East Europe far beyond the very ample one provided for by the Yalta agreements, has, since that time, led the major Western powers, the United States in particular, to strive to "contain" that build-up within such limits that the independence of the nations of West Europe is not constantly threatened. The posture thus established between the two blocs toward the end of the 1940's led to the establishment of two opposed alliances, on the equilibrium of which the peace in Europe has been founded for almost 35 years.

23) The equilibrium between the two blocs has constituted the foundation of the stability that Europe, alone among the continents, has enjoyed. But this equilibrium has been constantly undermined, by the Soviet blockade of West Berlin, in 1948-1949, because of the persistent superiority of the Soviet Union, and subsequently by the alliance under the Warsaw Pact, in the area of conventional weapons [as published]. This superiority is generally evaluated as a ratio of forces of 3 to 1 in favor of the USSR. Because of the inferiority of West Europe, NATO's strategy has had, from the beginning, to rely on the American nuclear guarantee in the event that the Warsaw Pact should want to exploit its conventional-forces superiority to unleash a surprise attack. A first decisive step, one that would hit at the heart of the problem of detente and disarmament, would therefore be to reach an agreement on reduction of the conventional forces in Europe, for the purpose of making NATO recourse to a nuclear first strike more improbable, or for the purpose of raising, as the jargon puts it, the so-called "nuclear threshold."

24) It is a positive phenomenon that after the decision to suspend all the talks on disarmament, the Soviet Union has also presented itself in Stockholm in a constructive spirit and has decided to return to the Vienna conference, where conventional disarmament in Central Europe is under discussion. Nevertheless, it would be helpful if the Vienna talks were not limited to that East-West border sector but rather, in view of the intensification of the conflict atmosphere in the Mediterranean area, for it to permit direct participation by nations of southern and central Europe, such as Italy, Hungary and Romania, that presently have the status of mere observers in the so-called MBFR (Mutual Balanced Forces Reduction) negotiations. It is also to be hoped that not only will the number of men mobilized within the two alliances be counted, but that the talks will be extended also to the weapon systems, especially the most destabilizing ones, such as tanks and bombers, as well as the tactical and battlefield nuclear weapons and possibly the neutrons weapons too.

#### The Necessity of New Balances in Conventional Forces

25) We must be aware of the fact that in the absence of new balances of conventional forces at lower levels, through agreement among all the parties concerned in Europe, the only way to keep the nuclear threshold high or to make practically useless the threat of recourse to a nuclear first strike consists, for NATO and for the individual European nations that make it up, in an effort, certainly an unpopular one, to achieve new conventional-force balances at higher--and therefore more expensive--levels than the present ones. Ruling out the abstract hypothesis of a renunciation by Italy of its own defense, through disarmed neutrality resulting from a unilateral disarmament by our country--a hypothesis that a nation exposed to all invasions, as Italy has historically been, cannot consider--and ruling out also the hypothesis of an armed neutrality, which is far more expensive than participation in an alliance, because of, among other things, the same strategic position, the Atlantic Alliance remains the only realistic choice, the one that enables us to guarantee our security as well as is possible. It is therefore within NATO that Italy must fight in order to get the nations participating in the Vienna negotiations to come up with a treaty that makes a

decrease in the two blocs' conventional armament possible or, in the absence of such a new balance at lower levels, that makes it possible for NATO to upgrade its own conventional armament and thus diminish the danger of a nuclear confrontation.

26) Though we have not yet participated in any nuclear negotiation, except for the one on nonproliferation, we have the right, precisely because of the provisions of the nonproliferation treaty, to call on the superpowers to honor their commitment to reduce their own nuclear arsenals to an appreciable extent. That was the aim of the dual decision taken by NATO in Brussels in 1979 in order to obtain from the Soviet Union a substantial reduction of the escalating deployment of SS-20 missiles aimed at West Europe. In the course of the difficult Geneva negotiations on theater missiles, not only did the USSR not freeze--as it had appeared to promise initially--that deployment at the 1979 level--the time of the Western dual decision--but it did not even freeze them at the level of 1981, when the talks began. And now deployment is continuing, after being extended to Southeast Asia too, but is being aggravated, with the deployment--in the name of a reply to the arrival of the first Western Pershing II's and Cruise missiles--of Soviet missiles of range shorter than that of the SS-20's but installed on nearer bases, such as those in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Although aware of the fact that negotiation such as the Geneva talks on the INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces--i.e., the Euromissiles) was blocked by preconceived views, since the negotiators were aiming at mutually incompatible goals (the USSR at nondeployment of a single American missile in Europe, and the United States at the quest for a warhead that would establish a balance between the American and Soviet Euromissiles), we must nevertheless seek to determine the conditions for new talks.

27) The Socialist International, starting from the consideration that the two separate bilateral negotiations on strategic missiles and on the Euromissiles covered areas that are at least partly common (for the USSR, indeed, the American missiles in Europe, which are capable of hitting targets on the territory of European Russia, are to be considered strategic, while in the view of the United States, which is invulnerable to the threat represented by the SS-20's, the Euromissiles do not have such a characteristic), suggested, last November, a merger of all the nuclear talks, of either a strategic or Eurostrategic character, so as to make possible the quest for a balance that is satisfactory to all the parties in conflict. At the same time, the International rightly pointed out that it will not be possible to achieve definitive results without participation in the talks, albeit in a second phase, by the other nuclear powers. And there is no reason why, albeit in a third phase, the nations that are to receive missile bases, such as Italy and the FRG (as well as Czechoslovakia and the GDR), should not have a voice in a negotiation whose end purpose must be that of increasingly broad denuclearization of our continent, when the existing disparities in the conventional field have been eliminated and when the Stockholm Conference has reached an agreement on effective measures that would guarantee all the European states against surprise attack.

## The Socialist Commitment in Favor of a Agreement against Space Armaments

28) The subject of the measures capable of breaking the arms-race spiral and of bringing us back to a political climate in which concrete and drastic measures for reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments are again contemplated does not exhaust the subject area of disarmament. Technological progress, often in the space race, is opening up increasingly alarming prospects. We are in agreement with the Socialist International when it calls for the making of an agreement on the banning of all types of space armament. If that should not come about within a relatively short time, the hypothesis of star wars would become a nightmare even more obsessive than that of a nuclear war, even if limited to Europe; and it is a prospect that would be ever closer in the event that the two superpowers each had at their disposal, within a maximum of 10 years, an umbrella of satellites for interception of any nuclear missile that might be launched by the other side against its own territory (but more probably against the allied nations of the European continent). The more definitive part of the SALT-I treaty, which almost totally forbids the two big powers to shield themselves from a missile attack by means of antiballistic missiles (ABM's), would thus cave in.

29) Although it is not possible to put the brakes on technological progress in general, just because it can contribute to the fabrication of increasingly catastrophic weapon systems, all research aimed at higher development of the existing weapon systems can and must be frozen. We therefore agree with the Socialist International when it declares that "the principal aim of the negotiations on disarmament must be cessation of the development, experimentation, production and deployment of all nuclear armaments," as well as of any new nuclear technology of a military character, this being a condition for subsequently being able to proceed toward "gradual elimination of the existing nuclear arsenals in every part of the world, under effective international control." Analogously, we agree with the International when it declares that "it will be necessary to observe immediately a total freeze on any form of experimentation with nuclear weapons." And finally, in view of the fact that the weapon systems of mass destruction consist not only of the nuclear ones, it will also be necessary to accelerate the negotiations--on which, in principle, the two superpowers seems to be oriented in a positive manner--for prohibition of all chemical weapons and of the other weapons of mass destruction.

30) No agreement on disarmament would be meaningful without an effective capacity for verification of its fulfillment by all the signatory nations. But while technological progress in space has opened up apocalyptic prospects, it has also furnished the possibility of a so-called technical way of checking on the most destabilizing forms of rearmament. Today it is far easier than it was 20 years ago to reach an agreement on the control, limitation or reduction of armaments, missiles in particular, because space exploration makes it possible to photograph someone on earth lighting a cigarette. More difficult, in the area of weapons of mass destruction, is control of those such as chemical or bacteriological weapons. But less excessively vexing forms of verification can be agreed upon. The foundation of verifiability can nevertheless restore a climate of mutual trust among

the nations, especially the two major ones. Thus we get back to the first term of this equation: peace requires detente; detente generates disarmament; and disarmament eliminates the perils of war.

#### Major Institutional Reform; Local Government

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 5-6

[Article: "The Great Reform of the Institutions"]

[Text] Restoring full capacity of functioning to the Parliament, the government and the administration, and their return to the center of political decision-making.

#### The Great Reform of the Institutions

31) The crisis of the institutions represents a general political question, since its characteristics are structural and, in addition to numerous aspects relative to civil and social relationships, have to do directly with the form of government. A failure to solve the institutional problems, or a delay and eventual inadequacy of the changes to be introduced, break down the real values of republican democracy and add very high costs to the difficulties of development of post-industrial Italian society.

32) The republican form of government is only generically definable as a parliamentary one (because of the fact that the government has to be given the trust of Parliament). In reality, though, implementation of the government's policy depends on the fact that the opposition groups, and in particular, the biggest of them in terms of votes in the Parliament, are disposed to going along with it. This central fact of the Italian political system is justified by the development that has taken place, especially between the 1960's and the 1970's, and is proven by the overall criteria of political representation by the structure and rules of functioning of Parliament, and by the slim powers and limited competencies enjoyed by the executive. This implies two consequences and, generally, makes the institutions incapable, with the current mode of functioning, of responding to the demands that come from the social, economic and political reality of the national community. Each new majority is excused from responsibility, and there is no hope that the choices that have come to be taken through the effective mechanisms of a system of political democracy can be fulfilled. In addition, the opposition is faced with the bald dilemma of pulling off exercises in compromise with the majority or of making the political and institutional system unworkable.

33) Under these conditions, the following effects occur: (a) any serious reform action is impossible, because the only majority that could effectively sustain it is necessarily heterogeneous, since it has to rely on large numbers (and this is proven by the failure of the reform policy of the seventh legislature); (b) the representative institutions decline, and, not producing decisions, dangerously cede a large part of their powers to public groups without political responsibility and to social groups that have



private interests; (c) the prospect of a replacement of the forces in government becomes an evanescent one, without the necessary push of idealism that is possible only in a functioning democratic dialectic, and since the opposition is worn out by the practice of compromise or delegitimized if it becomes involved in the paralysis of the institutions.

From these considerations, which recall summarily a complex analysis developed by the Socialists starting in the 1980's and helped along by constant verifications in political and institutional experience, emerge coherent proposals for reform aimed at restoring to the Parliament, the government and the administration a full capacity for functioning and, therefore, their return to the center of general political decision-making. A modern system of republican democracy must be rebuilt, one that proves appropriate for the requirements of an advanced society that wants to and can consolidate the great progress achieved and take on a real role in the European community and the international community, reaching high levels of social equity and opening up ever wider areas of opportunity for the citizens and for the collective forces.

#### The Election Laws and the Parliament

34) In confirming the proportional-representation principle for the composition of the parliamentary assemblies, with convinced adherence to the pluralistic characteristics of Italian society, one must not overlook degenerative aspects in the application of this principle--aspects that must be corrected. The 5-percent threshold seems to be a necessary rule for preventing an excess in terms of the majority's laws being responded to by a no less deleterious excess of confused and incoherent representation even of the most variegated and disordered corporative, localistic and other types of initiatives (not general political ideas).

The general character of political representation does indeed justify--in fact, requires--this minimum threshold. Furthermore, a Chamber that takes on the participation of all these minimal realities is starting off with great difficulties in its democratic functioning, as is proved by the contorted debate on legitimization of the parliamentary groups that opened at the beginning of the ninth legislature and by the poorly thought-out solution for differentiating the powers and faculties of the parliamentary groups in accordance with their numerical strength.

Among other things, the election law for the Senate already applies, de facto--albeit in an indirect and surreptitious manner--the minimum threshold for representation.

In addition, the new electoral discipline will be able to offer a contribution to solution of the problem of the qualitative composition of the Chambers, with restoration of the single national college for assignment of the remainders, and also, to the same end, by revising the rules for the composition of the Senate of the Republic. To this framework can be added the subject of the numerical size of the Chambers, which is another element of functional difficulty, especially on account of the excessive quantity of deputies.



35) The rules of functioning of the Chambers represent, in at least two points, the real point of paralysis of the institutions, and the key factor for associative democracy. It is a matter of transforming the preference for secret voting into a preference for open voting, and of introducing the power of the Chambers themselves to fix the length of time for deliberation on laws and on petitions, as well as for the executory acts for which the Constitution assigns a term, such as conversion of government emergency decrees into law.

The first reform produces a return to the system of parliamentary political responsibility, which is now in fact obscured. The second reform produces a restoration to the Parliament of the decision-making faculty, which today is in fact emptied of content, being delegated to the directing bodies of the heads of the majority and of the opposition.

36) Regarding the Chambers' acts, it is necessary to tackle first of all the question of the crisis in law-making. This function, which is the most important of those assigned to the parliamentary power, must be restored to its status as a general political act. To achieve this, it is indispensable to clear out the tangle of laws, restoring to the government the normative powers that are proper and natural to it in an ordered democratic system and assigning to the Regions all the legislative powers still jealously held on to by the Parliament.

In this framework, within which the government would reacquire its normative powers and the Chambers could decide on the length of time for deliberating on laws, it is possible and necessary to get back under control the torrential recourse to the issuing of emergency legislative decrees, often with the complicity or even the exhortation of the Chambers themselves, of the social forces, of parties exasperated by the Parliament's slow, tedious procedures.

37) Bicameralism can be preserved if it acquires a rationale that justifies it; today there is not one, unless it is the intent (undeclared) to hinder the function of the Parliament.

The rigid functional diversity is a remedy worse than the illness, because if one Chamber only makes the laws while the other only exercises control over the government and the administration, both are weakened, and both the legislative function and the control and inspection function are weakened.

The way already indicated for introducing several elements of functional diversification must therefore be confirmed (in addition to the ones aimed at synthesis, to be achieved with the reform of the Senate election law referred to earlier), of reasonable scope and designed to preserve the minimum substantial integrity of the political weight of each Chamber: (a) a distinction between bicameral laws and monocameral laws, assigning to the deliberation on the former, which could coincide with those for which the present constitutional provision specifies the assembly restriction (ratification of international treaties, elections laws, budget laws, constitutional amendments, amnesties and pardons, legislative delegation and conversion of

decrees into laws, etc) to the two Chambers, in accordance with the present rules [as published]; (b) competence with regard to the monocameral laws--i.e., all those that are not bicameral--to the Chamber of Deputies, with faculty of recall before the date of promulgation, if a part of the Senate (a majority of the senators, not of more or less large quorums, because otherwise the reform would lose its meaning) so requests; (c) exclusive assignment to the Senate of the inquiry power only (thus, not that of investigation or of political inspection, which remain assigned to each Chamber); (d) possible assignment to the Senate of formal competencies external to the Parliament, especially in relations with the Regions.

#### Government, President of the Republic and Referendum

38) The organization of the government, its structure, and the functioning of its organs should be reformed in coherence with the position of that organ in the political and constitutional system. Consequently, the following measures are indispensable and urgent: (a) the granting of trust, which remains the act of adherence to the executive's political approach, should come after the naming of the president of the Council and before the naming of the ministers; (b) the composition of the Cabinet should be twofold. The first level, comprising the ministers holding portfolios essential for the government's general policy and/or constituting a general representation of the supporting majority, is responsible, with the president of the Council, for implementation of the political approach and for the homogeneity and unity of action of the government. The second level, comprising all the ministers, deliberates on the acts that presently come under the competency of the Council of Ministers.

This will make it possible to revise radically the aspect of the other figures in the organization of the government, such as the undersecretaries of state--an aspect that is presently ambiguous on the institutional level and lacking in clear political identification--or the interministerial committees, which present analogous contradictions.

With this postulated, the general law on government action and on its action, which cannot and must not precede, but rather follow, the new constitutional provisions on the executive will be possible and advisable. The general lines of that law will have to discipline the powers of the president of the Council, the development of the attributions of all the other organs of government, and ample delegations for the functioning of the presidency of the Council, of the Cabinet and of the ministers, which today are the only constitutional organs without any autonomy for its own activity from the organizational point of view (means, personnel, discipline).

39) The figure of president of the republic should be conserved in its present position as the highest guarantor and custodian of the constitutional values, for the consolidation and growth of republican political democracy.

Several powers that have an effect on representation and on the approach can be rationalized. In particular, the power of early dissolution of the

Chambers cannot help but be connected with the stability of the executive and with the necessity of coordinating a fall of the government with the prospect of the formation of the new government, as an expression of the bond of political responsibility that is indispensable for the full functioning of the parliamentary system.

Constructive no-confidence is an institution that can be taken into consideration in the disciplining of the dissolution power, in the sense that when the no-confidence resolution is presented with indication of the new president of the Council and of the political approach of which he will be the bearer, exercise of the dissolution power is blocked, while in the other cases, especially if there are voluntary resignations, such power can be activated.

40) The principal institution of direct democracy--the referendum to repeal laws--needs a revision of its implementation discipline that makes its pre-suppositions adequate to the real conditions of exercise of that form of supplement to representative democracy and verification of it.

Several quarters have put forward proposals for extension of the applicability of the repeal referendum to international treaties and in favor of the proposal referendum--consisting, that is, in popular approval of laws.

The first hypothesis does not correspond to the bases of the republican democratic system, and contradicts the principle of popular representation. In addition, it ignores the very close relationship that links domestic policy with international policy. In the last analysis, it amounts to a propaganda expedient. The second hypothesis cannot be considered either, since it results in repression of minorities and odiously introduces the blocked vote.

#### The Local Autonomies

41) An incisive policy on the institutions cannot help but deal also with the local-autonomies system, which is on the eve of an important season of reforms.

The first has to do with the new law on local government organization, which will redefine the structure and functions of communes and provinces.

The new posture should simplify the existing situation, which is characterized by the presence of an excess of agencies, often of minimal dimensions, and by a confused institutional experimentalism, especially on the level of government intermediate between communes and Regions.

The essential points of the reform are:

a) the centrality of the commune in the administrative system, not only as a supplier of services but also as a general expression of the interests of the local community;

b) gradual phasing-out of the communes of minimal size, through incentivized forms of association;

c) definition of a specific form of government for the metropolitan areas, with, in the same context, a revision of the norms that govern decentralization in the big cities;

d) a profound transformation of the province as an entity, which is to become the only level intermediate between the commune and the Region, with simultaneous elimination of the organisms created with regional laws, such as the land-improvement or reclamation agencies, the intercommunal associations, etc.

The new province is to be assigned functions (for example, economic and territorial programming, infrastructures, management of large-area services) and functions delegated to the Regions [as published], in conformity with Article 118 of the Constitution;

e) reorganization of the system of legitimacy controls by strengthening of the technical-professional component of the regional control committees, reduction of the number of documents to be submitted for control beforehand, and institution of effective subsequent checks on effectiveness;

f) a more precise distinction of competencies as between deliberative functions and executive functions, with strengthening of the governing capacities of the municipal council and of the control functions of the assembly.

A separate problem, inevitably connected with the lines of approach that are emerging in the Commission of 40 for institutional reform, is that of the possible modifications to be made in the electoral system.

With regard to the hypothesis of direct election of the mayor, the question will have to be evaluated seriously, even if the requirement of greater stability that we are tending toward can be achieved with various solutions, among which is that of direct election not only of the mayor but by the entire executive organ separately from the assembly.

Two other modifications seem simpler to adopt: the one relative to reduction of the number of preferential votes, and the one that eliminates (or at least corrects, with an expansion of the colleges) the uninominal system for provincial elections, which is a source of local-interest degeneration, all the more negative if considered in relation to the economic and territorial programming functions provided for the new-type province.

42) The second reform of great importance for the local autonomies has to do with the imminent restoration of an area of taxation autonomy for both the communes and the provinces, as long called for, by the socialists, as an indispensable complement to spending autonomy and as a condition for greater responsibility in the management of public affairs. On the example of many other countries, the Socialists have for some time viewed the real-estate stock as the capital asset to which to apply the new local taxation, with rationalization of the entire system of real-estate assessment, which today is fragmented and substantially unjust. In addition, it seems advisable to repropose forms of coparticipation by the local bodies in tax revenues (such as the IVA [Value-Added Tax] on retail sales) for which an assessment ranking by the communes is possible.

Taxation autonomy will be able to cover only a proportion of the local revenues, which for the most part will remain guaranteed by state transfers.

The organic reform of local and regional finance is to redefine the criteria for transfer of state resources, which today result in heavy imbalances among the various areas of the country.

Only objective parameters--such as resident population, territory, level of per-capita income, level of local services--are in future to determine the state resources to be transferred in an automatic and guaranteed manner.

The third reform commitment for the socialists has to do with the municipalized firms, which today constitute an entrepreneurial network with about 145,000 employees and Lit 2.7 trillion in billings. With a new law, the methods of management must be made faster and more effective, with strengthening of the entrepreneurial aspects and modification of relations with the owner bodies (communes, provinces and consortiums), which today are bureaucratic and complicated. The firms must function by economic criteria and with the obligation to balance the books, with transfer of decision-making and the costs of the corporate charges (right and necessary, especially for transport) to the owner bodies, with resulting benefits for clarity and economy of management.

#### Citizens' Security, Freedom

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 6-8

[Article: "For the Security and Freedom of the Citizens"]

[Text] The challenge against the big criminal powers requires not only effective police apparatuses but also adequate judicial structures.

43) The situation of public order, especially the security of the citizens, still remains today--the terrorist emergency having died down, at least in the forms that it had taken on in the past decade--seriously threatened by organized gangsterism.

Criminal powers that operate throughout the national territory and that take advantage of important covers on the international level, control huge volumes of illicit traffic that are capable of supporting even large-scale economic activities that are carried on in the light of day.

The power acquired by big criminal organizations, once established only in several geographic areas but now present throughout the country, is based on the considerable integration achieved in the various spheres of illegal trafficking that now cover the entire national territory homogeneously. This system creates a system of widespread illegality that also involves sizable sectors of the public administration, as well as social life itself, which is increasingly affected by phenomena of individual criminality that are showing an upward trend.

In this situation, the work and tranquility of individual citizens are threatened daily, and forms of resignation are engendered that consolidate and make irreversible certain criminal practices and in an overall way, help to establish in people's psyches, to an extensive degree, a real culture of violence, onto which the "dominion" of the criminal and secret powers then grafts its own roots.

#### The Fight Against Crime

44) Among the criminal society's forms of dominion, those connected with the drug market appear particularly effective.

The number of victims of drugs has increased, in terms both of the number of deaths from abuse of narcotics and of the many crimes that are committed by young drug addicts. This constitutes a challenge which, because of the objective involvement of the victims themselves in the criminal-organization network, is entailing, on the one hand, an enormous increase in their offensive capacity, and on the other hand is tending to make less effective the responses that have been made by the state solely through police activities or measures of repression aimed at drug addicts, even if they are dealers.

It is necessary for the preventive activities and the police investigations in this area to come under a single authority that can carry out effective action in coordination of the policies followed by the forces of law and order for prevention and repression of the phenomenon.

45) Generally speaking, a more energetic defense of youth against the dangers that lie in wait for them and lead them into crime should be conducted on an urgent basis.

Police checks around the schools, workplaces and places where youth come together should be intensified, the special corps should be upgraded, and the reception centers and support establishments should be extended.

In the area of treatment of delinquency by minors, the space devoted to penal and pretrial incarceration should be further reduced, and the social services for juvenile delinquents, youth residences and the special schools and workshops should be upgraded.

46) The modernization of our police forces--which, within the framework of the fight against big crime, are committed on many different fronts yet are interconnected by the unifying action carried on by efficient criminal organizations that have large economic resources at their disposal--depends on better professionalism of the people employed, recognition of a satisfactory legal status for them, and the provision of structures and technologies capable of fulfilling the requirements of security of the forces of order, and in any case, such as to make their operational capacity adequate to the increased danger from the new criminal organizations.

It is also necessary, though, to ensure better organization of the people and of the existing structures, even if they are reformed, through an

effective link among the various police forces, which currently lack adequate headquarters and coordination authorities. It is necessary also to encourage better collaboration between judicial activities and investigative activities carried on by the police, through new techniques of electronic acquisition and processing of data related to the criminal organizations and activities.

#### Getting Out of the Emergency

47) With reference to the fight against the groups surviving from the armed party, it is necessary to keep up the great effort of recent years, though in a context of individual guarantees with restoration of areas of traditional freedoms, which for some time have been compromised by the emergency legislation. In this area, we may not limit ourselves to perfecting the already proven instruments of combat through which the terrorist challenge has been fought and brought to heel; rather, measures must be provided for, through legislative channels, that confirm, on the political level, the defeat of the armed party. A great many young people, caught up in the revolutionary web but entirely innocent of specific responsibility for criminal acts, are in jail or are exiles awaiting trial [as published]. Consideration of their position from a different angle, on the criminal-handling level, from that taken for the confirmed terrorists or those responsible for serious crimes is a far-sighted choice that will help to pacify the country after the traumas of the violent years, demonstrating the total bankruptcy of the political hypotheses maintained by the terrorists, the fact that they fall outside the mass movements of our country, and the political and human isolation of those who desire the impossible revival of the terrorist undertakings or of actions of mass violence.

48) A task as challenging as the one taken on by the state against the big criminal powers requires not only efficient police apparatuses but also judicial structures capable of applying within short time-limits the precautionary measures provided for by the most recent legislation, with the aim of combating crime through sophisticated investigations of assets and procedures that block the availability of the sizable riches produced by the illegal trafficking.

In recent years, the demand for justice has grown enormously in quantitative and qualitative terms. The work load has now reached such levels as to paralyze the judicial activities of some important judicial competencies, giving rise to phenomena of actual denial of justice. The dissatisfaction of the magistrates, who are often deprived also of the structures indispensable for carrying on their work, together with the dissatisfaction of the users of the justice system, who are increasingly frustrated by having to wait so long for a timely and just response from the judges, express, in a summary way, the serious state of crisis of our judicial apparatuses.

This situation of crisis involves both the field of civil law and labor law and that of criminal law. For some time, actions have been called for that relate both to the trial establishments and to the public-order establishments; in particular, the working-out of an organic plan for upgrading and modernization of the judicial structures is called for.

Thus, the crisis in justice should be tackled by working within the context. Furthermore, the reforms of justice achieved in the postwar period have demonstrated that the slowness of the trials and the resulting untimeliness of the decisions are not remediable on the strictly procedural level.

Indeed, solutions conceived solely on the level of the procedural norms have in fact proved capable only of multiplying dysfunctions and negative effects on the effectiveness of justice.

In short, there is a level of guarantees of the liberty of individuals that is equivalent to the structure of the judicial organs, which, if organized in accordance with the proper rules, constitute sources of protection themselves.

49) Right after its installation in summer 1983, the socialist-led government proposed several measures that the Parliament has, in part, already got under way, and a part of which it has under examination.

The initiatives so far prepared by the government have led to awareness--which should be shared--of the fact that greater effectiveness of the judicial apparatuses should in any case be made possible, but without ever losing sight of the objective of guaranteeing individual rights better, even in the presence of a public-order situation dominated by the difficult duties imposed by the fight against the criminal organizations.

Already, several of these initiatives are explicitly tackling the problem of getting out from under the emergency laws.

What is involved is a withdrawal that must come about through gradual solutions, that must be very circumspect, considering the fact that the cessation of the terrorist emergency has been paralleled by an increase in the threatening nature and the extent of large-scale common criminality. Despite this, we cannot omit to call attention to the harm that several laws, though considered necessary at the moment of the emergency, have done to the correct and balanced functioning of justice. The punishment mentality, the often uninhibited and indiscriminate use of procedural measures that at one time were nonexistent, the unmistakable abuses not infrequently committed in the provisions restricting personal liberty, and the obvious decrease in consideration of individual honor and dignity have not infrequently produced dysfunctions and damage no less serious than those that it was desired to counter.

#### Reform of the Trial Process

50) The slow, tedious process of trials, due to the delay so far in adoption of provisions that would accelerate the conduct of trials, are reflected today in the long periods of pretrial incarceration, which cannot be remedied solely by decreeing a shortening of them while leaving untouched, upstream, the trial-related dysfunctions from which these long periods result.



From the first years of the Republic, the socialists have fought for the issuing of a new Code of Criminal Procedure that could be hinged on an organization of trial conduct and on a safeguarding of the rights of the accused capable of thoroughly reflecting the democratic spirit with which our constitutional ordering is imbued.

While the new code is awaited, though, several urgent measures are required in order to remove certain negative effects produced by the emergency legislation and to consolidate procedural provisions recently introduced into the rules for the purpose of better safeguarding the liberty of the citizen.

Priority should be given to upgrading, so as to make them more effective, the competencies of the Court of Liberty, an organ that should be given a new institutional posture on the organizational level as well, in order to keep its decisions from inevitably being "confirmations" of those made by the judges who originally dealt with the substance of the question.

51) For some time, measures have been called for that are capable of correcting or eliminating the uninhibited use of the judicial communication (in the presence of weak grounds or no grounds), use that has now taken on the character of an instrument of offense against the image of the citizen and not of a guarantor institution that enables anyone, if involved in a judicial inquiry, to be able to clarify his own position in good time.

Analogous measures are required so as to give a better guarantee to the citizen under investigation, through effective oversight over investigative secrecy, which today is systematically violated, through news leaks often presented in such form as to permit an actual finding of guilt beforehand.

On this subject, it is necessary to restore rules that can make effective the presumption of innocence established by the law in favor of the accused from the moment of the decision.

52) Among the provisions proposed by the government with the intent of tackling the current situation of crisis of justice, approval of those that affect more directly the work load of the judicial departments is an urgent matter.

For the purpose of achieving this objective, the proposed enhancement of the civil and criminal competency of the local stipendiary magistrate, as well as the new areas of activity planned for the honorary magistracy, through the institution of the justice of the peace, is seen to be fundamental.

In short, it is a matter of reducing the enormous workload of the so-called minor judicial sphere--a load that still today weighs down the courts, the investigative departments and the district-attorneys' offices.

Nor can there be any further delay in adapting the staffs to the needs of the various departments; this should be done not only through an expansion of the number of positions but also through redefinition of the judicial districts.

## The Independence of the Magistracy

53) However, the citizen's faith in the judicial institutions depends not only on the necessary reforms, which must deal with the institutions relating to the trial process and with judicial organization, but also on administrative action to watch over the functioning of the judicial departments--action capable of preventing or abolishing inertia, omissions or deviations from the precepts established by the legislators.

The increased power of the judges, owing to often forced choices made by the legislature, as well as the repetition of disputable decisions whose object often is to impose arbitrary limitations on personal liberty, make it necessary to deal with the problem of the responsibility of the judge. The problem should be dealt with on bases that do not appear either demagogic or punitive, but rather by tackling in a positive way concerns and requirements which, in this area, a majority of the magistrates have been bringing up with admirable commitment for some time.

It is necessary to arrive at a solution of some kind that is capable of overcoming the current imbalance between the considerable powers available to the judge and the total absence of accounting (except for one that may be made within the framework of a disciplinary judgment that ascertains any eventual responsibilities in a rigorous and impartial manner).

It is an objective of the PSI to safeguard the independence of the magistracy concretely by avoiding any kind of control from outside the judicial establishment but, within that framework, protecting the judge from pressures and conditioning that could bring about new situations of dependency. Elimination of career status and of any form of control over the professionalism of the judge could constitute involuntary forms of pressure toward commitments and activities that would be very difficult to reconcile with the duties proper to those who administer justice. For this purpose, it is necessary to define a detailed and articulated system of incompatibilities that can guarantee not only that the judge is independent and professionally involved solely in his judicial activity but also that he so appears from the outside.

We consider any form of control by the executive over the judicial departments and also any form of hierarchical relationship among the various departments or among magistrates working in the same department to be extraneous to the model of judicial ordering and to the professional stature of the judge desired by the legislature.

We consider nonetheless that a serious inquiry into the professional quality and the attitudes of the judge are indispensable at the time that he takes on his actual judicial activities. Indeed, the new and weighty tasks assigned to the judges require knowledge different from the technical legal knowledge ascertained in the competitive examination, as well as considerable professional equilibrium.

A profound reorganization of the forms of recruiting as well as the forms of training of judges for the various judicial functions is therefore required.

Above all, adequate professional updating is required that enables the judge to try out his own professionalism in the various sectors of the judicial world.

The CSM [expansion unknown] must provide for better use of the judges, taking their attitudes and professionalism into account, as well as for rigorous control in the impartial exercise of jurisdictional activity. The entire magistracy should take part in the activities and role of the self-governing organ. Therefore, the activity of the CSM must not be characterized by phenomena of political division by lot or forms of extreme politicization.

54) A collapse, within the CSM, of the necessary autonomy of the judge would constitute a serious injury to the very independence of the magistracy and, sooner or later, would lead to a real crisis of identity of the organ of self-government.

While reform of the judicial councils and of the Higher Council of the Magistracy (CSM) will make it possible to achieve, through a modification of the electoral system, a serious restraint against the formation of alignments of party or associational type within such organs, it will help make the judge less bound to duties of caste and faction and his subjection to the law, and the law alone, clearer.

The relations between the magistracy and the public administration should be seriously revised also, so as to avoid serious uncertainties about the law, discordant and disparate interpretations, trespasses, instrumentalization of judicial power and distortions harmful to the orderly carrying-out of the administrative function.

For that purpose, the following things must be done:

A) several norms relating to crimes in the area of public administration should be reformulated;

B) new forms of crime should be defined that are appropriate for the tasks assigned to the public administration in an era in which its activities in the economic area are increasing and, in particular, the exigencies of more efficient managing are pressing in several sectors;

C) the public administrations should be guaranteed, with controls implemented in a timely manner within the framework of the judicial power, against perils of paralysis deriving from judicial interventions.

55) Popular participation in the administration of justice, in our judicial system, has almost always been considered with reference to the problems of structure and functioning of the popular juries.

It seems to us, rather, that little study has been made of the forms that could be taken on by popular participation in the administration of justice from a different angle: from the angle of the modalities through which individuals and social formations of varying character enter into the process as protagonists.

This represents a theme that has been developed considerably in the past years, both on the level of studies and on that of jurisprudence. The judges have often found themselves confronted with tricky questions relating to a commune's taking a position as a civil party at law and of district councils' taking a position at law as syndicates and associations.

On the legislative level, some specific responses have been made in this area only as regards labor trials, because of the importance of the role assigned to the trade union in that type of trial.

But this represents an unstoppable line of orientation that sooner or later will broaden the framework of the voices that will legitimately be heard in the trial and not just on the fringes of it. Broadening the number of parties who are active in the trial process means giving interests of constitutional importance specific and effective instruments for making their influence felt in the trial process, especially in the criminal-trial process.

It is necessary, though, to articulate the entry of these new presences into the trial process in such a way that the position of the accused, attacked by a number of parties, is not aggravated.

#### The Prison Situation

56) The desired reform of justice will have positive effects also on a prison situation that currently is sadly difficult.

Without a new organization of the criminal-trial process that makes the terms of pretrial imprisonment acceptable, and without an energetic effort at decriminalization that makes it possible to avoid detention for acts that in society's perception no longer constitute serious offenses, it does not seem that the crisis of overpopulation of our prisons can be remedied easily. This involves a phenomenon which, if not tackled at the level of organization of the criminal-trial process, does not permit margins for recovery later--that is, on the level of availability of new and adequate penal institutions--because of a prison population that has grown in recent years and would continue to grow out of proportion in the coming years.

Furthermore, the existence of a large number of accused persons awaiting judgment and therefore not subject to the rehabilitation regime and to the rules of penitentiary treatment, and destined to continual postponements for reasons of trial in progress, fluctuating between arrests and temporary liberty, prevents the implementation of a serious prison policy that adheres to the very civilized law of 1975.

The overcrowding, caused also by the measures adopted in the fight against common criminality and against subversion, has led to a serious mixing that has made the prisons, on the one hand, real command centers for the big criminals and, on the other, a dangerous laboratory for alliances between the underworld and terrorism.

#### Access to Justice

57) The citizen's expectation that he can always betake himself to an independent, impartial and efficient justice system will not be translated into an adequate safeguarding of rights until the problem of access to justice is tackled adequately.

The inefficiency of institutions such as legal representation free of charge or court-appointed defense counsel is now recognized by everyone. In order to keep differences in wealth and legal literacy from continuing to weigh so heavily on the citizens' opportunity to assert their rights in legal proceedings, it is necessary, as a first step, for the professional work of those to whom legal representation of the least wealthy is assigned to be paid for with public funds.

This is one of the routes that could be taken to guarantee the right of have-not citizens to defense.

What is involved, though, is a requirement that should not be responded to solely through a "refinancing" of the institution of free-of-charge legal representation that leaves the current forms of free-of-charge legal representation unchanged

As against fee-paying justice, indeed, the normal system of defense should be constituted by legal self-representation.

Just as, with reference to interests of the citizen of particular social value, recourse by the private individual to the publicly available professional legal services should be legitimized.

It is also necessary, though, with reference especially to interests not guaranteed by the laws of safeguarding provided for rights, to reinvigorate or introduce new extratraditional mechanisms of protection.

The experience with the civic defender so far developed on the regional level points to the conclusion that the citizen would be greatly benefited by the assignment of broader powers to this figure within a national dimension.

Since, in any case, the problem of guaranteeing all citizens the right to defense is not one that can be solved easily or soon, inasmuch as it involves numerous and considerable difficulties in various aspects, it would be highly desirable for justice, in the meantime, to be made more accessible especially to women, who are excluded from it to a greater degree, and especially in the area of family law, through some form of obviously marginal legislative action such as a simplification of the procedures, the

application of a no-charge judgment system as regards procedural matters (exemption from stamp fees, registration fees, etc), and possible application to family controversies of legal representation "at the expense of the state" for "have-not parties," on the analogy of what is provided for labor-law proceedings.

#### Economic Reform, Recovery

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 8-9

[Article: "For the Restoration and Revival of the Italian Economy"]

[Text] The reform proposal is founded on concerted regulation of all incomes within a unitary and coherent framework of combat against inflation.

58) Important structural changes are developing within the world's big economic areas. Understanding of these processes is an indispensable premise for fully grasping the nature of the restrictions and the opportunities that the international framework offers to our country, at a time when the signs of economic revival are multiplying in Europe too.

The Pacific area, in which Japan and the United States converge, seems increasingly destined to be the new center of gravity of the world economy, on account of its dynamism and its capacity for innovation. In Europe, in contrast, the technological gap that had been largely closed in the 1960's and the first part of the 1970's is rapidly widening again. The United States' economy has entered the new era of the postindustrial revolution and has proven capable of creating millions of new job positions in the emerging sectors; the United States has thus succeeded in "reindustrializing itself." Europe, on the contrary, is not managing to check the employment crisis, which has been brought about by the necessary but socially painful restructuring of the mature industries, such as steel, chemicals and shipbuilding.

This radical transformation of the machinery of production and of society that has started in the Pacific area will be the characteristic trait of the next 10 to 15 years. Involved in this revolution are not only the production processes but also the organization of work and the quality of consumption and of needs, the quality of life, of the environmental structures and of interpersonal relationships, raising problems of the safeguarding of individual liberty and of development of collective participation.

59) The technological revolution is not, however, attenuating the imbalances between the world's North and South. Nearly 2 years after the manifestation of its most acute phase, the financial crisis of the developing countries has certainly not been resolved, even though the danger of a collapse of the international banking system and of bankruptcy of several of the big countries of the world's South seems less probable in the immediate future, thanks to the debt-consolidation carried out through the International Monetary Fund and the International Settlements Bank, and thanks to the revival of the international economy, which has raised the prices of raw materials not for energy.

The price of this action, however, has been the adoption of recessive economic policies, with abandonment of the most ambitious development projects. With the exception of the new industrialized countries of the Pacific area and of several Arab countries, the international economic evolution, and the world's South in particular, therefore have little hope of regaining, in the short term, the high development rates of the 1970's.

#### The Monetary Disorder

60) In the relations among the industrialized countries, the oscillations of exchange rates and the monetary disorder have had a particular devastating effect; the speed with which the dollar changes its ratios to the European currencies, growing stronger or weaker, is a strongly disturbing factor for the European economies.

In order to combat this erratic course of the exchange rates, Europe must set itself up as a single monetary area, capable of negotiating an understanding with the monetary areas of the dollar and of the yen, with fixing of limits on the variation of the rates of exchange and creation of controlled-fluctuation zones. Notwithstanding the successes of the ECU [European Currency Unit] in staking out significant areas for itself in the European financial market, we are nevertheless still quite far from the objective of a true European Community monetary area.

61) The structural weakness of the European economies has negatively affected the rate of development and the labor market. The outlooks for employment in the Community in the coming years are not encouraging, even in the presence of a revival that, it is hoped, will be able to become vigorous from the second half of 1984 on.

In Italy, the substantial stagnation of employment is paralleled by a continuing increase in unemployment, with reduction of the labor force in industry and an insufficient growth in the advanced tertiary sector. The Italian labor market is characterized by a high rate of youth unemployment and by the rise, along with the traditional problem of mass unemployment in the Mezzogiorno, of socially important phenomena of employment problems [as published] also in areas of central and northern Italy that had hitherto been considered strong.

#### The Failure of Neoliberalism

62) The classic economic policies of Keynesian inspiration have proven incapable of dealing with the complexity of the problems and of the distributive conflicts of the developed economies, in this phase of transition to the postindustrial era.

Two new economic-policy approaches are emerging from this theoretical and political crisis of traditional Keynesianism: neoliberalism, and what can be called "neointerventionism." The neoliberal recipe has had a certain success only in the United States, where inflation has been brought under

control and the economy has started growing again, but with heavy domestic social costs and with repercussions that make for a strong redimensioning of growth on the international level.

This outcome has been made possible by the size and solidity of the United States' industrial system; in addition, the existence of an enormous federal deficit demonstrates the fact that the classic Keynesian formulas, though verbally denied, have not actually been abandoned in reality.

Neoliberalism has given a poor showing of itself in Great Britain, where inflation has dropped but the economy has come out from the "Thatcher cure" devastated. The economies of the European countries therefore seem too limited, and their productive base too weak, to make neoliberal experiments possible.

Neoliberalism is even less proposable for Italy, in view of the fragility of the productive apparatus and the amplitude of the phenomena of inequality and of the areas of marginalization: further monetary restrictions would present the risk of destroying the existing production capacities.

In particular, in this phase of startup of economic revival, application of a monetary brake would prevent our country from hooking onto the expansive phase of world business and would nip the revival in the bud.

Such a proposal would in any case remain a fruitless one, because it would come up against the firm opposition of the Socialist Party. It is necessary, though, for all the forces of organized labor to fight this battle in a coherent manner, without ambiguity and without entertaining positions that could revive the neoliberal approach, at the very time that the adherence that it enjoys in the entrepreneurial world itself is being cut down.

#### The Reform Proposal

63) The proposal for reform is founded on concerted regulation of all incomes, within a coherent and unitary framework of combat against inflation. It is therefore a different proposal from the traditional hypothesis of a broadening of the public presence in the economy and also different from the classic Keynesian recipe, which is based exclusively on control of overall demand. The neointerventionist strategy, on the other hand, requires that all economic parties be subjected to incentives and restrictions such as to get them to behave in such a way as to minimize the inflationary tensions and maximize the volume of resources for accumulation.

The maneuver carried out by the Craxi government at the conclusion of the talks with the social parties marks a turning-point, because it represents, for the first time in our country, the startup of an economic reform policy based on regulation of all incomes and capable of braking inflation and ensuring the development and renovation of the productive base. The reform challenge is thus taking on concrete shape, and this explains the reactions that it is causing, not only in the neoliberal circles but also in the dogmatic or purely contestational sectors of the left and of the trade-union movement.



64) The reform proposal makes use of a new political role for the trade union. The Socialist Party is seeking, on a coherent, equitable and effective basis, cooperation with the world of organized labor, with the understanding that self-moderation in the labor market can be linked today to a concrete and credible prospect of revival of accumulation and of development and with an effective growth of the influence of the trade union in the political and decision-making sphere.

The PSI calls on the trade-union movement to assert itself as a force for renewal, to make an in-depth change of the defensive approach aimed at the safeguarding--an increasingly fatiguing and illusory effort--of the existing mechanisms of sectorial protection, and instead to assert a dynamic and unfragmented defense of the interests of the working class, through acquisition of effective power for management of the economic-policy decisions.

#### Incomes Policy

65) The reform strategy provides for the use of incentives and restrictions for achieving control over incomes and for keeping the cooling-down of the wage dynamic from turning into a growth in company income without any effect on prices and therefore on the competitiveness of our products in foreign markets.

A policy of regulation of all incomes must be able to offer the productive forces a money cost compatible with the development objectives. There is not just the need to lower a real-interest-rate level that is excessively high in Italy today.

It is a matter also of taking action on the excessively high costs of financial intermediation, by rationalizing and restructuring the financial services and developing greater competitiveness in the banking market. A substantial reduction of the cost of money, accompanied by a sizable recapitalization of the firms, would enable our productive system to regain competitive edges abroad, would stimulate development and technological innovation, and would encourage the firms to adhere to the objectives in the area of prices.

An important aspect of control of the price dynamic is that of policy on fees and charges. Public-finance maneuvering that concentrated solely on adjustment of fees and charges to balance off the deficit would see the very problem of the public sector's financial needs intensified again through the rekindling of inflation, and perhaps without even reducing the deficit of the public agencies because of the elasticity in the demand for their prices on the basis of their price. The evolution of fees and charges must therefore be kept within the limit of the programmed inflation ceiling that is coherent with the incomes policy.

Beyond the problem of fees and charges, there is a vast income area in which the state is a contracting party, directly or indirectly. What this involves is incomes from work, for both the public administrations and the public enterprises, transfers to families and to firms, and the purchase

of goods and services from the private sector. For this reason, getting the state's accounts in order is also a fundamental aspect of incomes policy.

#### Taxation

66) Special attention should be devoted to taxation, because of the function that it can carry out to correct--both for specific categories and in the distribution of income in general--the trends that go against the objectives of the incomes policy.

Special emphasis should be placed on a recovery of efficiency of the tax structures, in order to continue the fight against evasion initiated by the socialist ministers and proposed again as a commitment by the government within the maneuver started after the talks with the social parties.

An autonomous taxation area should also be identified for the local entities --an area that would be decisive for the purposes of control of expenditure, inasmuch as it should be accompanied by a drastic reduction in the transfers borne by the state, which should limit itself to carrying out an equalization function in favor of the economically weakest entities, especially in the Mezzogiorno. This means that the local entities should be given a taxation capacity that is not just marginal.

Among the other priority objectives of taxation policy, the PSI advises a further broadening of the legal tax base, revision of the jungle of exemptions and concessions, and tax treatment that does not penalize the family as it does today.

Finally, there will have to be talk about a wealth tax too, in the medium term, even though it will have to be understood as a mode of rationalization of the various more or less camouflaged forms of wealth tax already existing and will in any case have to be limited to big fortunes.

#### Public Expenditure

67) Within a strategy for restoration and revival of the economy, the problem of the governability of public expenditure and of containment of the deficit is central. In this area, the first government with a Socialist president has marked a reversal of the trend. For the first time since 1979, the finance law has been passed within the preestablished time limits.

In addition, the overall incomes-policy strategy is having effects on the level of the public deficit, not only because it requires the government to act with coherence vis-a-vis said policy in the matter of public-sector incomes, financial transfers and orders to the private sector, but also because, through the effort for a significant reduction of the cost of money, there will be a lightening of the servicing of the public debt.

The commitment to get the state's accounts in order and to contain deficit spending must remain at the top of the government's list of commitments, inasmuch as it is a decisive condition for the realization of an effective development policy.

## Employment

68) The central objective of the reform policy is employment.

The income-regulation measures, in conformity with the measures already adopted by the government, must be accompanied by specific provisions for support of investment and employment.

A labor policy has a fundamental role in such strategy. In addition to aiming at high-quality revival of growth, it must ensure the flexibility of the labor market, in order to encourage absorption of the labor force. Big efforts are necessary in the area of training, refresher training and occupational retraining; and in addition, an information system on the needs for qualified labor must be created.

During the 1970's, a considerable gap gradually opened up between the line of spontaneous evolution of the productive system and the overall quality of industrial policy. Especially in the area of the smaller-sized firms, there has been a notable effort to adapt to the new realities of demand, of the technologies, of the financial markets. In contrast, industrial policy in the country has so far taken on the characteristics of a widespread welfarism that is doing a cosmetic job on the system and is penalizing the competitiveness of the public firms. In addition, support of the productive apparatus has too often been entrusted to a policy of continual downgrading of the rate of exchange which, in the absence of structural-adjustment action, has held up the firms' price competitiveness but at the same time has transferred to the system continual inflationary pressures and recurrent restrictive policy requirements.

In this web of welfarism and monetary protection, the factors of crisis of the social state (i.e., injustice, waste and the bureaucratic decline of the state functions of redistribution of wealth) have become interwoven with the factors of crisis of the industrial state.

As measured in the international context, the conservative dominant approach of public intervention constitutes the country's principal "comparative disadvantage," in view of the regressive specialization of our productive apparatus in the mature and intermediate production areas.

Underlying this conservative approach is the conviction that a policy of intervention can be limited to working, though without a real restructuring, on the weak points, while relying, for the rest, on the spontaneous dynamism of the system. This represents a profoundly erroneous logic, inasmuch as the innovative dynamism of the firms is conditioned by a series of nonmarket factors that must be guaranteed and governed by public intervention.

On the other hand, this conservative logic is the consequence of political mediations brought about through the existence of groups and interests that are contrary to the transformation and that are positioned variously and diffusely in Italian society, even within the left.

## Technological Innovation

69) The socialists are convinced of the necessity of removing this "comparative disadvantage" of our country, by changing the quantity of public intervention and by upgrading and potentializing the system's dynamic factors. It is a matter of carrying out, with flexibility and with pragmatic methods, a profound change of the objectives, the instruments, the operational modalities and the policies of intervention.

A policy of technological innovation must be carried out also through specific recovery actions by firm, by sector, by area of production. It is necessary above all to break the assistance spiral through a reconsideration of the instruments in force (the Prodi law, the GEPI [Industrial Participations and Management Co] system and similar instruments), separating the support for workers' incomes (support that must be rationalized and upgraded) from the survival of the firms. It is necessary to revitalize the mature sectors, with acceptance of the phenomenon of mortality of unproductive firms as a physiological one.

Nevertheless, the central axis of the intervention policies must be connected to the actions aimed at support of innovative entrepreneurialism and of the new entrepreneurialism, through, among other things, the preparation beforehand of appropriate models of intervention, following the example of all of the most highly industrialized countries.

The strategy of technological innovation that we propose does not overlook the pioneer technologies but is concentrated on improvement of the key technological trajectories, which have multiple and intersectorial effects, on revitalization of the mature production areas and on diffusion of the innovations to the production system as a whole, so that they permeate the entire sector of the smaller-size firms.

For development of the pioneer technologies, with a raising of the innovative capacity of the major and medium-big firms, the broadest international opening-up and integration are necessary, in forms that guarantee the maximum fallout onto the entire industrial fabric, with effective elevation of the innovation capacities in the organizational and management sphere also. In this context, commitment to definition of European common policies in the industrial area appears as necessary, even if the principle of technological self-sufficiency must be considered obsolete even at the European level.

This strategy also implies the necessity of a decisive modernization of our instruments of support for exportation, which must be adjusted so as to promote all the factors of competitiveness besides price and must be capable of also carrying out in the foreign markets specific monitoring functions or, at least, functions of transmission of the principal innovative stimuli. This innovation strategy requires a change in the research policies, with an upgrading of the flows of resources from the public sector to research, and with greater selectivity, organicity and transmissibility to the production system of the public research commitments. It is necessary also to prepare in good time instruments for incentivitation and support of the research

expenditures of the firms, with integration of the public-demand policies with the actions to stimulate research. The functions and role of the researchers within the firms must also be upgraded.

70) The innovative processes open up the services system and make the borders between industry and services increasingly movable; therefore, it is no longer possible to conceive of industrial policy without specific commitments in the area of services. It is indispensable to achieve the financing of the firms and of the incentivization policies, by stripping down the existing system of incentives, by purpose-directing the actions toward innovative investments, by introducing automatic and tax-related instruments, by reserving the effectively selective incentives to action carried out within the "innovation and development contracts," and in any case, by concretely connecting the grants of a financial character to real services of assistance to innovative processes.

It is necessary to raise in an overall way the promotional capacity and the "intelligence" of the ordinary flows of purchase of goods and services by the public administration and direct them toward promotion and diffusion of technological innovation. Among the great public programs, we identify as priority ones the area of telecommunications, the energy area, the transport area and the space sector.

On the other hand, this necessitates a superior projection and management capacity for the public sector, one that raises its capacity for observation, selection and decision-making, in order to get rid of the often markedly bureaucratic character of the relations between public administration and firms.

The progressive involution of public intervention has lowered the levels of competitiveness of the public and state-participation firms to a disturbing extent and has made their role unrecognizable. The PSI considers it necessary to restore this area's capacity for innovation and competitiveness, indeed augmenting its role in the diffusion of technological innovation, to be achieved with a broad international opening-up and by widening the spaces for cooperation with the private firms.

#### Agriculture

71) The interconnection between policies for stimulation of production and assistance policies has so far represented the most serious limitation to the intervention in agriculture too. The socialists consider it necessary to make a clear distinction between the initiatives aimed at sustaining the growth of competitive agriculture and those directed toward the more backward and less productive sectors, support of which is justified in important ways of a social character or in terms of protection of the environment.

72) Our agriculture requires a Community agricultural policy oriented toward reducing the structural imbalances and the surpluses and at upgrading the production capacities that relate to European and international food demand.

For Italy, improvement of agrarian credit, greater labor-market flexibility, improvement of the transport system and of the distribution network, and upgrading of food production and of exportation through the achieving of greater competitiveness and high standards of quality are called for. A decisive role is assigned to the activities of research, experimentation and diffusion of the new technologies.

The expiration of the existing agricultural legislation presents the opportunity for defining the modern and coordinated character of the productive approaches and of the instruments for public intervention.

The capacities for development of agricultural production for meeting the food needs, industrial transformation, and the increasing of exportation depend on the vitality of the Italian agricultural enterprises, which have been taking on characteristics of concrete economic strength.

On this basis, further development possibilities must be found for cooperation and association--development that can be verified on the economic and productive level. The agroalimentary dimension must constitute a priority line of commitment in Italy's economic policy.

Along with the policies for agricultural productivity, it is necessary to upgrade the role of environmental protection and of guarantee of the human function that agriculture carries out in the country's zones of least population, favoring the development of integrated agricultural, craft and tourist-oriented projects, with, among other things, the adoption of differentiated energy and production technologies.

The PSI therefore proposes a substantial interconnection between the policies relative to the production sectors and the policies on research and innovation, as happens in the principal industrialized countries. This makes it necessary to reverse the trend toward a growing fragmentation of the decision-making centers, with a commitment to reunification of the various centers for direction and coordination of the production policies. In particular, specific and horizontal coordination by program must be achieved, so as to enable the various sectors of the administration to participate in a unified way in the management of the various actions.

#### The Mezzogiorno

73) The southern reality presents a profoundly diversified picture, within which coexist zones of major underdevelopment and areas in which a widespread and diffuse entrepreneurialism has taken shape, one that has shown great vitality and has proven capable--quite a bit more than basic industry has--of integration with the surrounding production framework.

Nevertheless, despite this dynamism of some areas, the imbalances between the Mezzogiorno and the rest of the country remain serious in terms of income and especially in terms of employment. The socialists place the employment problem at the center of their commitment for the Mezzogiorno, aware of the special seriousness that that question has for young people.

The response to this challenge is to be sought in technological innovation that permeates all the traditional production sectors, restoring their competitiveness and productivity, and that also creates in the southern regions new tertiary activities, highly productive and capable of absorbing a significant proportion of the labor force.

To carry out this new phase of the southern strategy, a reform of the public administration is necessary, and first of all, a revival of the effectiveness of the Regions. Only in that way will it be possible to implement a policy for upgrading the potentialities of the Mezzogiorno, the development of which must be neither dependent nor competitive but rather complementary vis-a-vis the traditionally strong areas of the rest of the country and the European Community.

The PSI considers it indispensable to reform the system for carrying out extraordinary interventions, especially on the level of the speed and flexibility of the procedures, which have proven inadequate. The Fund for the Mezzogiorno should be restructured, freeing it from several management spheres of competency and enhancing its planning and technical-assistance role. The incentive system for industrial promotion must be strengthened, but with reform and acceleration of the grant procedure. There must be close coordination between national policies on production and the policies aimed specifically at the Mezzogiorno. Programmatic and administrative coordination must be defined in an effective instrument, such as the so-called "program-agreement."

#### Toward a New Welfare State

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[Article: "Toward a New Social State"]

[Text] Determining with greater precision the areas of present-day poverty and conditions of marginality, in order to define the minimal and priority social needs.

74) These are years of crisis: crisis of the political systems and crisis of the economic systems. On the one hand is a complex society that self-reproduces at postindustrial rates, segmenting the subjects involved in it, the social groups, the memberships, and producing increasingly broader and more articulated networks of relationships and interdependencies. On the other hand is what the political system offers: something that is not following the generation of social needs, is not succeeding in building a system for containment/hierarchization/satisfaction of the demands--a system which, based on consensus and exchange, would be sensitive to the speeds of the social transformations.

The dilemmas are of no small account. What we are witnessing is the gradual exhaustion of the welfarism model which, albeit with different specifications depending on the various contexts, had characterized the socioeconomic development of the modern democracies--an exhaustion that is normative and practical at the same time.

On the normative level, the "welfare states" had set as their fundamental objective (at least deontologically) the pursuit of greater positive liberties and of formal and substantial equality, but without being concerned about working out a normative theory congruent with the exigencies of legitimization of social policy. The presumption, on the contrary, was that liberty--positive and negative--and equality--formal and substantial--could easily be expanded and cumulated within a single and linear process of democratic emancipation and liberation of human and progressive destinies: in short, that they would /naturally/ work in harmony. Or, in Luhmann's terms, the widespread conviction was of the substantially nonproblematic nature of the expansive logic of the welfare state--a logic of perennial compensation for all the disadvantages hitting the individual that appear socially conditioned--and of the parallel concept of the public role, which, although interventionist, was understood, inasmuch as it was lay and secularized, as merely expansive and reactive vis-a-vis the social demands.

On the organizational-institutional level, the belief was that a skilful combination of universal services financed and produced by the state and of selective and purpose-directed monetary transfers would protect the individual from the cradle to the grave through an effective safeguarding of all social rights.

After the undeniable and broad successes experienced in recent decades, these presumptions have been proving increasingly vain.

In this regard, it suffices to recall the deficiencies of egalitarian models in a world of scarce resources that is increasingly seeking the wealth of position, that to an increasing degree is asking for personal satisfaction of postmaterial requirements, and in which the inequalities are becoming increasingly horizontal and the criteria of marginality are becoming more heterogeneous, and in which phenomena of resentment directed against the relative inequalities of Tocquevillian memory are being manifested more and more. And still in the same context, one should recall the difficulties of the traditional media of intervention of the bureaucracy and of money--the former too often leviathan and insensitive to the specific needs of individuals, and the latter accentuating the inequalities, even if they are minimal. Or consider all the problems of overloading, aimed at the satisfaction of demands that by nature are elusive, voracious and unlimited. With the consequent result of promulgation and implementation of welfare-assistance policies that too often favor groups that are stronger in a political and clientele sense, to the detriment of protection of the weaker groups and of accomplishment of truly public aims (cf, in Italy, the persistence of broad zones of poverty, especially among single-income families, older people and single women with families, especially if they are unemployed and live in the south). This is perhaps at least a partially inevitable situation, given the expansion concept, which comprises the policy, referred to earlier, that explicitly denies the taking of selective priority criteria into consideration.



## Equitability

75) In the face of such problems, which in our country are aggravated by the inadequacies of a protobureaucratic apparatus and by the well-known deficiencies of the institutional system as a whole, the insufficiency of simple adjustment practices, of marginal adjustments, of incremental actions and of contingent cuts proves to be immediate. Indeed, in specific cases it would seem to be a matter not just of insufficiency but indeed of harmfulness, if, as it seems, it is true that the sacrifices become acceptable only if associated with a policy with a program that are considered equitable [as published].

What is necessary is a new marriage of vision and technical knowledge, in full awareness of the fact that without a sense of advance toward a goal, without the aim of a better life, without commitment and moral impetus, the efforts for technocratic and merely production-oriented rationalization remain arid and deficient. But also well aware of the fact that a social policy based on a single criterion, be it even that of mandatory love can only end (as Kolakowski writes) "in a camp of prisoners and prison guards": or, in other words, that the era of ideologies has ended and no organic or altruistic or simply unidimensional conception of the distributive criteria can be defended by anyone who truly has the fate of liberty and of equality at heart. But also aware of the fact that the moral dictates, without an adequate technical instrument for fulfillment, without a practical link to the specific and complex vicissitudes of the real world, remain a dead letter at best, or at the worst, are transmuted into tyranny and arbitrariness. Whence the necessity of a lay and pluralistic ethic, of an ethic that does not take an antagonistic position toward the world of technology but that rather knows how to make use of it, even in the most sophisticated versions offered to us by the present-day information society.

## What Is Merited and What Is Needed

76) We, as the PSI, have taken big steps in the working out of such a program, both with the Rimini proposal for alliance between what is merited and what is needed and with the subsequent efforts regarding practical reformulation of the social policies in a direction that is more differentiated, more pluralistic, more flexible, more equitable and more efficient. But the road to be traveled is still a long one.

We still have to determine, with greater precision, the areas of present-day poverty and conditions of marginality, old and new, in order to define in an equitable manner the minimal and priority social needs in relation to which everyone should be protected on the basis of mere citizenship and on the basis of the taxation system. We must then make bold to draw out those difficult but necessary lines of demarcation between such needs and the other ones: those to be financed through contributions and those to be financed through private channels. With the whole guaranteeing that the selectivity does not require discriminatory practices that are too degrading (but that happens, for example, in the most automatic manner possible through the tax system). In addition, we must also incisively reform administrative

activity so as to transform the old protobureaucratic organizational model into a modern services-producing structure, recognizing at the same time that the state role does not necessarily imply a public offering but rather, at times, only intelligent activity of approach/regulation, control and monitoring. In addition, we must still be capable of making full use of the advantages that can be derived from computerization of the management systems --thus also employing highly qualified personnel--as well as those that can be associated with more extensive recourse to voluntary efforts in the sector, at least in the area of light supply. Similarly, we must also identify, especially in the context of institutional reform, satisfactory instruments for defense of consumers or, more generally, for channeling social demand, including demand from the weakest, that are more effective than those of the democratization of the public administration, of the uncontrolled decentralization and participationism so highly praised in the 1960's. And apart from that, even if not on a conclusive basis, we still have to identify the precise modalities for responding to the postmaterial demands, through a coherent activation of the intermediate bodies, of the third sector in its totality and of personal responsibility in place of dependence both on the public bureaucracy and on the power of the private professionals.

#### Reform of the Welfare State

77) Acceptance of what has been set out necessitates profound changes in the existing mechanisms, following also the indications from the experiences that have developed in the other highly industrialized democracies.

a) It is necessary to separate (from the philosophical and managerial point of view) the actions inspired by the "insurance" model from those linked to the "redistribution-assistance" premise.

While the latter remain the exclusive prerogative of the welfare state, the former should be integrated, coordinated and articulated in interaction with the private system.

b) At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the protection of the "minimals" and to free the productive system from the "aid-linked" restrictions, making the role of the social state more incisive and more compact.

c) The separation-coordination of the components of the social-security systems based on the various models suggests the advisability of the most appropriate balance among the various systems of financing. The redistribution-assistance part of social security should be financed by tax revenues, and the "insurance" part by deductions from earnings;

d) The choice between generalized help and that which is conditioned by the need test reflects a cost/benefit evaluation as between the necessity of concentrating the resources and the necessity of action in the situations of most acute need, and that of limiting the costs of determination (including the social costs of the discriminatory impact of the determination itself). The widespread nature of the specific-need situations and the "maturity" of the welfare system seem to indicate the advisability of linking monetary aid

to the means test; and steps are already being taken in that direction in the area of family allowances, for example.

#### Social Insurance

78) The crisis that the social-insurance system is going through, the geometric progression of the deficit, the short-term difficulties and the disturbing outlooks are a well-known story. At the origin of it are both contingent factors such as the economic crisis, the spread of the assistance mentality, the distortions caused by the indexing mechanisms in the presence of the unforeseen inflationary explosion and other things, and structural elements which, in the recent decades, have transformed the characteristics of our society.

With the ending of the development era that was considered endless, with the advent of recession, with reduction of the resources for social purposes, the problem of restoration of the social-insurance system arises again in all its vastness. The action must necessarily be articulated on two fronts --one for the immediate future, intended for stemming the financial hemorrhage affecting the mechanisms of expenditure but at the same time guaranteeing possible social equitability, and the other purpose-directed toward general reform of social insurance.

To that end, it is necessary to identify the area of effective need, directing public intervention exclusively toward support of the weakest groups; continuing with shotgun action would mean giving little to everyone, burning up precious resources, denying serious aid to those who really need it, and not having the wherewithal for guaranteeing a dignified pension to someone who has worked for his entire life.

It is the opinion of the PSI that the measures already approved with law 638 of 11 November 1983 and with the 1984 financial law--which make the granting of disability pensions, minimum supplemental allowances and family allowances dependent on the income levels of the pensioners and workers--merge, from this point of view, and represent an effective therapy for the immediate future. But they run up against a serious limitation in the fact that one of the elements set as a basis for them--continuation of the condition of need--is far from being ascertainable for many categories of citizens because of the precarious conditions of our taxation system.

A social policy founded on the parameter of the income of the citizens presupposes an instrument for tax ascertainment that is efficient and rigorous and such as to place all the citizens in a position of real equality vis-a-vis the tax collector.

But in addition to the situational provisions, necessary for coping with the emergency, it is necessary to offer a political response of broader scope that expresses and stresses the benefits of the new social postures and that at the same time establishes a basic normative framework that defines the irrenounceable objectives, the characteristics of the system at its outset, the necessary gradualities.

This overall design should be provided for by the proposed organic reform of social insurance, which should be based on three key points:

- 1) a structural reorganization that makes it possible to identify the incoming and outgoing financial flows clearly;
- 2) a normative framework compatible with the socialist principles of substantial equitability and of solidarity with the weakest;
- 3) an institutional mechanism capable of providing for the conduct of the system, correlating the use of the finances with the effective possibilities of the productive sectors and of the collectivity as a whole.

#### Health Reform

It is the opinion of the PSI that there must be a rereading of the health-reform law in order to introduce the necessary corrections on the basis of the experience acquired during the first 5 years of its implementation. The PSI is therefore favorable to a real revision of the reform. In this framework, while it is advisable to confirm the decision in favor of institutional decentralization in the management of health aid as well as of the other competencies transferred to the local-autonomies system, nevertheless the multiplication of tasks that has derived from a totalistic conception of the transfers of the local entity should be redimensioned.

The principle to be achieved is that of a managerial articulation of the health system in such a way that each function corresponds to a level of government suitable for management of it. The unity of the system can be guaranteed by the approach, coordination and control action that is the task of the Ministry of Health, by regional programming and by an effective information system that ties together all the levels of the national health service through a prompt activation of the planned SIS [expansion unknown]. On the other hand, the indicators necessary at least for a first phase of startup of a serious health policy are available. It is essentially a matter of applying them. In addition, the questions of the reform of the USL [expansion unknown] and of revision of the legal-administrative position of the big hospitals emerge, in this context, as problems of particular import. For the purposes of a more efficient, effective and equitable service, implementation of the health plan would seem urgent. This implies:

- 1) definition of distribution criteria for the Health Fund that are more satisfactory than the present ones, which are based essentially on historical expenditure (on the type of those adopted in Great Britain, for example);
- 2) the working-out of a new set of norms governing the agreement relationship with the private care institutions and the private analysis workers;
- 3) preparation of the structures for support of regional activity;
- 4) definition, possibly in quantitative terms, of the objectives expected and the related systems of incentives, disincentives and controls;
- 5) identification of models of regulation which, in the use of the resources, take advantage of the citizens' higher levels of understanding on the subject of safeguarding of health and make the citizens the effective protagonists in the making of health decisions. In this regard, the emptying of the foundling hospitals, the radical reduction of the institutionalization of normal and

handicapped minors, and the growing demand for an alternative to institutionalization of old people are the most obvious signs of a readiness, in the social fabric, to find within it the answers to the needs for care and aid, in an unexhausted relationship of human solidarity and of permanent bonds of affection for which there is no room inside the bureaucratic and professionalized structures.

It is also a matter of reviewing the present structure of the remuneration of all the personnel, both employees and contract workers, and the current work-organization modules, which, in their present forms, show a serious absence of responsibility in the matter of financial and economic implications of the various therapeutic and support activities carried on by the National Health Service.

There is also the problem of the financing of the health service to be tackled and solved in a clear manner. There is no doubting the fact that from the time that homogeneity of the levels of care assured to all citizens was decided on, the continuation of a financing system based mainly on tax yield became anachronistic.

Implementation of the principle, contained in law 833/78, of a transfer of the coverage of health expenditure from the parafiscal system to the fiscal one is therefore a matter of urgency. It is a choice that correctly adheres to the principle of equitability propounded by our party. In the present state of affairs, though, modification of the financing system would translate into an alleviation in favor of the firms, with the transfer of greater burdens onto the employees, who are already weighed down disproportionately by the tax bite.

A correct solution of the problem can be sought by increasing the firms' contribution with a modification of the IVA [Value-Added Tax] rates and by recovering with the IRPEF [expansion unknown] the advantages that would derive to the workers with elimination of the tax payment.

Finally, there remains the question of the possible definition of practical ways of regulating demand, with a possible increase in the financial responsibility of the patients, while confirming the commitment to protect the poorest citizens.

80) Essential to a social policy, in the current situation of economic emergency, is solution of the problem of youth unemployment, which should be considered in this framework more than in the economic-policy one, in the strict sense, precisely because of the dramatic social reverses that it entails. In 1983, indeed, 2.3 million were unemployed, and 1.7 million of them were young people from 14 to 29; as against a general unemployment rate of 9.8 percent, the rate for young people was a good 24.3 percent, with peaks up to about 35 percent in the southern regions.

The situation in the coming years will tend to grow worse: according to several estimates, it will even top 30 percent on the national level and 40 to 45 percent in the south.

The overall lightening caused by the freeze on hiring and by early retirement in the public administration could be on the order of about 500,000 persons in 3 years. It follows from this that an extraordinary plan providing for the hiring of 300,000 young persons in 3 years would not result in any additional costs for the state.

These 300,000 job positions should be used to fill regular job positions left open by people going on retirement and early retirement, within the limits of what is effectively necessary, but mainly to provide for new requirements and new services (civil protection, cultural assets, health, financial ministries, etc), with, for that purpose, a timely and coherent review of the personnel needs of the individual administrations.

#### Making the Most of Human Resources

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[Article: "For Putting the Human Resources to Good Use"]

[Text] The replacement of manual labor with technical work can be more or less extended only by a general effort to make the most of the human factor in work.

81) In the postindustrial society, cultural capital (training, information, science) will take on central importance both for the economic activities and for life in society in general.

In this society, indeed, job positions connected with the creation and use of the cultural capital will increase in number to the point of becoming the majority, while the proportion of the working population involved in production and administrative work of traditional type will decrease. The training-information-scientific tertiary sector will therefore become the most dynamic sector in both the public economy and the private economy.

This will come about especially through the effect of the processes of robotization of industry and computerization of services, which will eliminate many jobs of low and medium qualification level, while creating new ones having to do with the designing and running of automated systems, which for the most part will mean a high level of qualification. The substitution of technolabor for manual labor, with characteristics of heteronomy, repetitiveness and absence of professionalization, may nevertheless be more or less extended, depending on whether technological innovation is combined or not with organizational innovations aimed at generally making the most of the human factor in work activities: development of cooperative or self-managed firms, industrial democracy, articulation in partially autonomous units and "composite work" units (as is beginning to happen with the "production islands"), rotation and enrichment of duties, etc.

To the extent to which, despite the possible technological and organizational innovations, simple and unskilled jobs subsist, it will be necessary to arrange things in such a way that no one is forced to do them and identify

with them exclusively and permanently, and without falling into the alternative, toward which there is a trend today, between vacancies (with the hardships resulting from it) and massive recourse to labor imported from the underdeveloped countries.

A policy of youth employment that gave incentive to the temporary filling of these job positions in a process of gradual acquisition of roles more appropriate to training and aspiration would prove useful for such purpose. Equally useful would be a modularization of work (multiple work) that would enable all (young people and adults) to combine job duties that are less fulfilling (but also paid well on account of that fact) with job duties that are more fulfilling, and more congruent with the skills acquired in the training processes. Furthermore, these skills will have to be renovated periodically, precisely because of technological-organizational progress, which will imply extreme precariousness of all occupational functions and extreme mobility from job position to job position and from trade to trade.

Training--a central element in working life--will be a central one in social life in general also, because the expansion of leisure time, the extraordinary diffusion of means of communication, especially the personalized kinds (distributed computer equipment, telematics), and the growth in opportunities for consumption and also, to some extent, for creation, for culture and for knowledge, will make it necessary for every citizen to be learning continuously, as a condition for active participation in social relations.

#### The Training System

82) This centrality is being accompanied by a growing articulation of the training system (widened training system), which is no longer identified with the schools and universities but pervades all of society (educator society), combining in a particular way with the contiguous systems of information and of culture, and with the productive system, itself increasingly forced to develop and institutionalize its own training role.

Today, the various sectors and persons in whom the training function is articulated are scattered and do not constitute a system, with the effect of placing entirely on the consumer, on the demand, the burden of choices of coordination and judgment for which they are unprepared. This results in a strong risk of dispersion and disorientation, of underutilization of the existing training potential.

The schools and universities should, on account of their pedagogical sensitivity, be the structures readiest to take on the requirement of coordination and arbitration in a broadened system of training supply and of making them the basis for a redefinition of their own modes of action.

But they seem reluctant to take cognizance of the end of their monopoly on the working-out and transmission of knowledge and know-how. Instead of presenting themselves as centers for guaranteeing training quality in the broadened system, they are tending to close in on themselves as totalistic institutions. In so doing--that is, in defending an impossible school-centered

position--they are seizing on the only monopoly that remains theirs by law: that of certification (studies diplomas with legal value). The schools' monopoly on certification, which was instituted for the purpose of ensuring homogeneity and quality in the training system, is thus tending to change into an instrument of conservation.

#### The Schools and Universities

83) Today, the schools and universities can pass from quantity to quality, from expansion of the school cycle, which has now closed, to greater efficiency in use of the resources.

The socialists' policy on training is based on three principles: 1) education for liberty; 2) education for equality; 3) education for development.

a) Education for liberty means fostering the maturation of democratic, independent and aware personalities, capable of understanding themselves, distinguishing and cooperating. It is liberal education, for tolerance, for respect for ethical-political orientations and for different cultures. It is the only true, nonsectarian and nonmystifying education for peace. It is respectful of the plurality or pluridimensionality of intelligence (creative or productive as it may be) and of language (verbal or nonverbal as it may be), on the basis of individual vocations and attitudes. It implies a choice in favor of a lay kind of school--i.e., a kind of school that provides within itself, as a formative factor, for pluralism of values, of ideologies, of beliefs, as against any hypothesis of either sovietization or Lebanonization of the school structures.

b) Education for equality means, precisely, egalitarianism: not a leveling but rather a combination of social solidarity and meritocracy. It corresponds to a society that is stratified from the foundation of a higher initial or basic level that ensures adequate chances in life to everyone, is related to personal merits (competence, productivity), and provides broad possibilities for vertical mobility in one's working career and between one generation and another. This implies compensatory instruction in order to give more to those who have received less on account of their social origin, recognition of diversity of motivation, languages and styles of learning, guarantee of permanent and continuing education. Finally, it requires territorial rebalancing between training structures of the center-north and the Mezzogiorno.

c) Education for development implies a cultural axis of education that is hinged on science instead of on ideology, with a close relationship between knowledge and know-how, theory and practice, study and work, in adherence to the demand from the labor market for a general training renewed in its content, methods and languages.

The Socialists' programmatic choices for training are articulated in five points: 1) elementary education; 2) higher secondary school and occupational training; 3) higher education; 4) teachers; 5) administration.



a) Elementary education should be reformed as follows:

--first cycle of education, 3 to 4 years;

--two successive cycles of elementary education, with early start at 5 years, to be structured by subject areas with progressive specialization of the teachers, introduction of teaching of a foreign language and principles of computer science;

--middle cycle of instruction, connected to the last elementary cycle better than is the case today;

--lengthening of school hours throughout the entire range of obligatory education (to be achieved in a flexible and articulated way);

--thoroughgoing specialization of the personnel.

b) Higher secondary schooling and vocational training should be reorganized and put into a unitary channel: at the center, a common central nucleus with an initial 2-year period that would extend obligatory schooling from the present 8 years to 10 years; then a subsequent 3-year period, with a plurality of approaches modeled on the fundamental occupational areas existing in the world of labor and the major articulations of scientific knowledge and the ordering of university studies, with the possibility of various lateral exits, both into the labor market and through the intermediary of occupational-training courses, and finally, the possibility of later reentries by workers who want to take up their studies again. All this implies great flexibility not only in the curricula but also in the calendars, in school hours, in the organization of work. Within this framework lies the reason for the proposal also for a short 2-year cycle, whether or not followed by appropriate 1-year occupational-training courses.

The reform must act also on the cultural and occupational content, initiating a process of modernization that upgrades the logical-mathematical dimension and the scientific one. As for occupational training, it will be necessary, in addition to the traditional prework courses, to be purpose-directed better toward real occupational outlets, to develop courses for apprentices and young workers, with work-training contracts, and also by reform of the institution of apprenticeship and the norms for starting work, reorganization of the occupational ranges and qualifications, homogenization of the evaluation criteria of the examination commissions for the occupational-training centers' awarding of certificates of qualification. It is also necessary to have labor-market observers distributed throughout the national territory and for them to be centrally coordinated by the Ministry of Labor and the ISFOL [expansion unknown]. Finally, a promotional role should be assigned to the regional labor agencies and to the secondary schools themselves, through appropriate agreements.

c) Higher education needs a diversified university, a multifunction university which, along with the usual bachelor's degree, offers diplomas more immediately purpose-directed toward the labor market, as well as high-level degrees such as the doctorate in science. A university that is capable of offering a variety of services: from continuing education to off-campus

education, from education for senior citizens to more profession-oriented training, of shorter duration (diploma), or higher-level training (master's, specializations), to the bachelor's-degree course programs. The current trend toward fragmentation of the structures, the differentiation of the faculties, the myriad of bachelor's-degree course programs, the pulverization of the teaching materials, should be rationalized. There should be innovation in the organization of teaching, providing for modifications of curriculum in order to connect the training content with the occupational outlets. A system of "credits" that permits maximum flexibility and procedures for ongoing evaluation through the year should be introduced. The entire system of courses should be rationalized, with provision for different and differentiated course durations, in function of the different categories of student, with approaches for noncourse students, with a view to efficiency and productivity. Forms--as flexible as they might be--should be introduced for programming of admissions and, in some cases, such as medicine, for "programmed numbers" also.

As regards the personnel, the effort to create normative and remunerative conditions that offer greater incentive should be revived, in addition to a restructuring of the recruiting channel through institution of the role of researcher.

d) Teachers. For the schools too, professionalism and commitment must be upgraded and rewarded. An initial series of initiatives should move along the following lines:

- a reordering of the initial training routes, bringing all teachers to the university level;

- a vast program of refresher training and requalification (especially for elementary and higher-secondary-school teachers), with off-campus training techniques;

- redefinition of careers with the institution of a second course group, to which one is admitted by competitive examination (or a combination of course work and competitive examination), that enables one to carry out the new professional functions required by the necessary technological and organizational renovation of the schools (this will then raise the problem of a re-evaluation of the pay scales for principals and teaching directors and of a reconsideration of their tasks and their modalities of training as related to their managerial role);

- articulation of working hours along three lines: normal, short (by choice) and long (on account of functional necessities), in connection also with the new professional functions;

- greater flexibility in the organization of work in relation to the requirements of programming and experimentation.

e) Administration. In addition to the more limited forms of rationalization (restructuring of ministerial organs and administrative decentralization), it is indispensable to tackle three central problems:

--clarification of the relationships between the ministerial authority and the local autonomies;

--having, alongside the organs of administrative competence that are prevalent today, organs of technical competence, going beyond the limits of competence, autonomy and managerial functionality of the existing agencies (CEDE, BDP, IRRSAE [expansions unknown]) and establishing two new guarantees: one for the training and refresher training of the personnel, and one for financial, territorial and building-construction programming;

--broadening of the field of autonomy of the school units and of the districts.

Greater margins of autonomy and a special status, in the recruiting of teachers and students also, should be given to the experimental schools. Finally, the socialists consider it necessary to provide as soon as possible for a reordering of the basic collegial organs (class and institute), so as to revive an experiment that has made a positive contribution to the democratic character of the management of the schools and to the better functioning of them.

#### Cultural Patrimony

84) Our country, No 1 in the world in cultural wealth, is running the risk of being colonized. We can build the world of tomorrow for the new generations if we take cognizance of the economic and spiritual importance of culture and prepare ourselves for making the most of our patrimony and offering products of quality for national and world enjoyment, paying thoughtful attention to our presence in the international market, the place where the diffusion of culture and of information prevalently takes place. The state and private persons must make a farsighted effort at collaboration that is in the interest of all. It is mainly the state, in its central and peripheral articulations, that should see to making the most of the patrimony and to development of cultural production. The backwardness of the legislation--in the radio and television media and in the theater, to cite the most macroscopic examples--the fragmentation of the competencies among some 10 ministries and in a myriad of Regions, communes and provinces, the insufficiency and scattered character of the expenditure, the archaic character of the institutions functioning abroad: these things make the public structures more of an obstacle than a support for cultural growth. Great reform is called for in this sector. The socialist proposal to unify and coordinate the public competencies in new structures of departmental type, open to the participation of the collective cultural operators, is now shared by many, and the party is committed to formulating it in concrete terms.

The phenomenon of sponsorship of cultural activities is spreading, private capital is discovering culture as a promotional investment and as a productive investment. An important law--the Formica-Scotti law--has been promulgated in order to encourage a flow of capital into the work of making the most of cultural assets; and Minister Logorio has proposed an organic law that provides incentive for investment in the sector of theatrical productions. This is the road along which the PSI will move in order for the

state, without ever subordinating the reasons for science and the arts to profit, to solicit the broadest participation in the undertakings for making the most of culture and for the production and diffusion of it.

#### Information

85) In the field of information, the essential problem is not a matter just of laws but also of actions by the government, of managerial choices, of development projects capable of involving all the vital sectors of the cultural industry and of informational and audiovisual production. In this field, the philosophy by which the socialist commitment is inspired goes in the direction of stimulating and "governing" the development of a system of liberty, encouraging the modernization process by which Italy is related to the more highly industrialized countries, making the most of the original features of our culture and of our social system, but without making them into elements of separateness, of isolation, of cultural and productive backwardness. For this purpose, it is necessary to call on the most vital sectors of society, on those most open to innovation, on the emerging social groups, on the managerial capacities.

While the delays so far suffered in legislative disciplining of the mixed radio-television system, for example, have, on the one hand, so far made it impossible to give life to a framework of certainties and to consolidated reference points, they also indicate, on the other hand, the extreme difficulty of an elastic, flexible legislation capable of adapting to the delicacy of a field that is evolving continuously and fast.

The mixed-system discipline requires the working out, with a decisive contribution from all the political forces, in view of the importance and the typically institutional character of the subject, of a set of norms that are not of a bureaucratically binding nature, loosely-woven norms capable of establishing new, realistic rules of the game and of taking the rapid developments of technology into account.

On the public side of the mixed system, law 103 for reform of the RAI [Italian Radio Broadcasting and Television Co] will have to undergo the revision necessary for adapting it to the competitive situation and the reality of the marketplace, with retention of the public-service character assigned to the RAI, which is of preeminent national interest.

In any case, the company must be inspired, within the framework of the norms that currently regulate its fulfillment of the public-service function, by criteria of efficiency, managerial quality and management economy that are proper for an enterprise, adopting measures for functional repositioning of the operational structures, for disinvestment and restructuring of sectors that are no longer vital, both within the RAI itself and among its associated companies, and for gradual reduction of the current staff level.

Such measures must be purpose-directed toward a strategic choice aimed at making the most of the action in the field of the new services, of telematics software, of direct broadcasting via satellite. The IRI [Industrial

Reconstruction Institute] must take on the task of promoting integration initiatives for making the most of the synergies between the STET [Telephone Finance Corporation] group and the RAI, destined to take on greater importance with the gradual advance of the process of integration and technological, industrial and market interdependence within the entire telecommunications sector.

Within the overall framework of the mixed system, the necessary balance between the public and private components (each in its own proper role) should be ensured by an independent authority of mixed technical/parliamentary composition, endowed with broad powers for arbitration and intervention, on the model of the American FCC. That authority must have the power to ensure respect for the principles decreed by the law.

On the private side, the reality represented by the commercial networks of national character must be suitably recognized, within the framework of norms of a general character capable of ensuring a certainty of prospects, of ensuring conformity with the public interest and of providing incentives for productive development of the theatrical industry and of the other sectors of the national cultural industry.

Adequate space will have to be ensured for development of private broadcasting of a local character and operating within a regional framework; in order to make good use of the positive role of autonomous and original expression by the local communities, the entire yield from local advertising should be reserved for it.

86) Among the sectors of the culture industry, that of printed information is one of those least affected by the process of innovation and modernization: this holds true from the point of view of the organization and structure of the firms, the training and recruiting of journalists, the diffusion of the market and the meeting of the public's demand.

From this point of view, the problems raised with regard to the trend toward transformation of the publishing groups into power groups, an emanation of real political-financial lobbies, remain entirely open. This trend, which within certain limits is typical of the market-economy industrialized countries, is nevertheless taking on a seriousness and prominence that are quite particular in the Italian case, in which the interconnections between the press and the political, economic and sometimes the judicial powers is accentuated by the traditional low level of market self-sufficiency of the daily press publishing industry.

In the legislative field as such, with the approaching end of the 5-year period that the norms of the 1981 law on publishing-industry reform have been in force, the necessity of an overall rethinking is emerging, one that is not limited to identifying its defects and functional lags (in the area of the granting of subsidies by the public administration) and the limited nature of the results on the level of the so-called "transparency" of ownership.

On the level of the most urgent actions, attention should be called to the socialist commitment to tackle the problems of the journalistic enterprises that impede the effective restoration of it and its entrepreneurial takeoff, with particular consideration for the concessions for restructuring and technological-innovation initiatives, reimbursements for the cost of paper, the distribution system.

#### The Telecommunications System

87) Development of the telecommunications system is taking on central importance not only for satisfaction of the growing collective need for information and communication but also for taking advantage of the external economies that enable an industrial system to remain competitive on the international level.

This development will take on concrete form with the creation of integrated networks capable of exploiting all the new technologies in their context, and capable of distributing rapidly the greatest possible quantity of information of all types. The creation of integrative networks will also have consequences on the productive apparatuses of the cultural industry, making obsolete the current differentiations between production and management of networks and of messages and among the mass media. The publishing industry, the cinema, music, radio and television, through to the overall telecommunications system, are the various facets of the same reality (the industry of culture, of information and of the theater), and also require a trend toward financial and industrial integration.

Today, the telecommunications-services network is already an essential one for the development of the country, at least as much as the traditional communication networks--roads, rail, freeways--have been in the past. Furthermore, a modern telecommunications system is the fundamental condition for development of the advanced tertiary sector and the creation of new job positions for skilled work.

The socialists consider that a higher degree of priority should be assigned to these sectors, to make them one of the principal driving forces of the overall "Italy System" innovation. Awareness of the centrality of this theme and the urgency of our country's giving clear, permanent responses to the pressing questions posed to a postindustrial society by the technological innovations and market stimuli, must be promoted among the political forces and in the institutions.

We intend to work for the creation of a "new culture" that permeates all levels of society. And along this line, an important first step could be represented by the setting up, under the Presidency of the Council (as a unifying force, in view of the fact that the governmental competencies in this area are fragmented among at least four ministries), of a commission to study the various aspects of the problem and propose, in an operational way, both a kind of "sketch" of a telecommunications plan and, on the model of the French Nora-Minc report, an overall proposal for the use of telematics in Italy.

88) Keeping up the pace with the most advanced countries in this sector is an essential objective and a difficult obligation. In order to succeed in it, the Socialists consider a great overall project to be necessary, a national plan capable of coordinating the growth of all the sectors involved, both those related to production of hardware (video terminals, optical fibers, circuits, etc) and the computer and telematics software sector. The plan should be aimed at keeping the production and distribution aspects from getting out of phase, so as to achieve a balanced development of them, under penalty of seeing what has been defined as "modernization without development" become the creation of a new high-yield market for foreign products.

This plan therefore presupposes that in our country too, as has already happened elsewhere, the state takes on an effective role of unitary government of the system, abandoning the hypotheses that it be either a direct operator or a mere guarantor of the market, a "night watchman." In other words, the state will have to carry out the active role of pointing, positing, monitoring the trends of development and seeing that the game is played by the rules.

Finally, another objective of the plan will have to be that of keeping the country up with the international developments, ensuring both the possible levels of national autonomy, with the necessary investments, and direct and indirect management of the big infrastructures, and an adequate research policy (a central aspect in the phase of movement and transformation that we are going through).

The objective to be pursued is to give equilibrium and certainties to the TCL system for the medium-to-long period too. The premises are the unified management of the services, which makes homogeneity and clear accounting possible, and the 10-year plan, which gives definite programmatic reference points both to the services and to the manufacturing industries. From this point of view, the financial economic framework is an essential point of reference. The heavy investments necessary require, indeed, in both the private and public sectors, a sure frame of reference for implementing both the disinvestments advisable and the parallel investments.

#### New Trade Union Unity

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement p 13

[Article: "For a New Trade-Union Unity"]

[Text] 89) In the matter of trade union relations, the PSI confirms its own choice of the method of consensus and the social pact, as a method purpose-directed toward achieving a governability based on the adherence of the forces of labor and of production. Pursuit of that objective entails the periodic definition of the orientations of pay policy, to be harmonized within the more general framework of choices oriented toward pursuit of the aims of greater employment, reform of the social state, more just distribution of incomes.

This policy of economic harmonization, which got a start in 1983, is today confronting a serious crisis resulting from the laceration of trade union unity and the refusal by the communist component of the trade union movement to accept its implications in terms of compatibility and self-discipline.

This crisis of consensus in the trade union movement has brought about a crisis in the outlooks for achievement of a disciplined social consensus around the policy of economic revival and development being pursued by the government. The PSI is hoping and making efforts to keep this crisis from having any more than a temporary effect, and for conditions to be restored as quickly as possible for giving the social forces, but especially the workers, the possibility of directly influencing the choices that have to do directly with their problems and their living conditions.

90) The possibilities for closing the ranks of trade-union unity, which has been and remains a constant objective in the history and in the present life of the PSI, depends above all on removal of the causes that generated the crisis. These causes are to be identified both in the PCI's deliberate choice to work, in this area, toward a goal of breaking the political balance--a goal that was not reached at all, though--and in the deeper cultural crisis that for several years has beset the trade union movement, which has been obliged and forced into a late-coming transition--and one that is not approved of by all--from the culture of conflict, understood as an end in itself, to the culture of responsibilities and compatibilities. The breakoff policy pursued by the PCI has therefore come about in an environment of uncertainty about the values to be pursued, and therefore an environment more exposed to incursions from the outside. While the first cause is a political one, and should be resolved in the political arena, the second one deeply involves the very mode of being of the trade union movement.

#### Modernization of Policies

91) The objective of regeneration of trade union unity, as proposed by the PSI, must be pursued not through exhortations and admonishments, or proposals of abstract doctrinal models, but rather in harmony with development of a trade union experience that is renewed in accordance with the needs of the new society that is being formed.

The PSI therefore stands behind the identification, made by its own members who are in the trade union movement, of a reform of pay and contracting as the first step toward a great labor of modification of the methods of trade union action. Such reform must not be understood as an alternative to the policy of the great understandings, which indeed, in their character of "framework" understandings, should constitute a consensual frame of reference appropriate for activation and orientation of trade union action at the various levels. Both exclusive centralization and a diffuse, firm-by-firm approach--two trends existing today--represent dead ends, because neither of them is suitable for governing the growing complexities of the system.

There are three fundamental requirements that a modern system of industrial relations is called on to satisfy: protection of the lower incomes, by means



of, among other things, appropriate indexing, anchored, though, to the minimum pay and pension levels; promotion of professionalism, through rapid correction of the ruinous reductions in pay differentials; and contribution by employee workers, in their now multiform varieties, to development of productivity, understood as the fundamental factor for increasing the national income and for production of the resources necessary for tackling the tragic problem of unemployment. From this last-mentioned point of view, the PSI confirms its attention to models of worker participation in management of firms--models set out in Community directives that are in the approval stage.

#### Democratization of Structures

Reformation of the trade union, to which the PSI means to make its contribution of ideas and militancy, likewise requires a profound change of the very structure of the trade union, especially in the direction of internal democracy. Such a change can take place only where two fundamental principles of democracy have been accepted and internalized. First of all, the essential value of the procedures and rules of the game, which, however, still seem to be used in assembly practice as secondary and instrumental aspects, giving rise to easy domination by minorities and disaffection on the part of the majorities. Secondly, the validity of representative democracy, which, in a participatory structure such as the trade union too, may not be subordinated to more or less approximate forms of direct democracy, from which, among other things, the more guarantor type of democracy constituted by the secret-ballot referendum has been constantly excluded.

For the purpose of contributing to this labor of renovation and modernization, the PSI is also studying possible measures of legislative support which, by going beyond the formulas dictated in this regard by the Constitution and rejected by the trade union movement, would tackle the subject of the verifications of representativeness at specific moments in the trade union experience, among which should be included strikes in the essential public services. As for all crises, the current one may not have a ruinous outcome but could even be resolved in positive terms. It is, in fact, nothing other than the emergence of the incompatibility between a trade union movement with a predominantly work-oriented tradition and culture and the needs of the new society, which is now looking toward the 21st century. The PSI, as the party of and point of reference for the socialist trade unionists, is renewing its own availability for the work of necessary modernization, which will have to deal with doctrines, structures, behavior--an availability that it has had throughout its history and that in the past has contributed greatly to the improvement of unity in autonomy: values whose current relevance has been confirmed again today.

Ninth Legislative Period, Development of Initiative for Reform

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 14-16

[Article: "The Ninth Legislature and the Development of the Reform Initiative"]

[Text] The PSI's choice for reform has been the condition and guarantee of a governability that has been difficult and of a growth of the socialist area.

From Palermo to Verona

93) The 42nd Congress, at Palermo in 1981, consolidated the reform outlook of the Italian Socialists. The party regained a vaster and more solid internal unity around the motivations and objectives of a rebirth and a renewal, in a new era, of its oldest, most coherent and most fruitful political and cultural tradition.

First a broad internal majority, and then the entire party and the most conscious expressions of its social and trade union hinterland as well as of its different and differentiated area of cultural background and of opinions recognized what was called for in the way of a modern reformism and reunified on that basis.

This development was pursued in the heat of the political and parliamentary struggles following upon the crisis of national unity and the crisis of Eurocommunism, in a rational and gradual effort to overcome the limitations of the bipolar architecture of the Italian political system. Bipolarism, indeed, proved incapable of producing stability and renovation, either in the form of compromise and association or in the form of the alternation and opposition between the two major forces, the DC and the PCI.

The PSI's choice for reform has been, even in the conflict-ridden vicissitudes of the eighth legislature, a condition and guarantee of a governability that has been difficult, of a widespread and differentiated growth of the socialist area and of the secular and intermediate forces, of a startup of the alternation in a relationship of collaboration-competition with the DC.

The reform line that emerged from the Palermo congress had developed the perception of the "Great Reform" launched at the beginning of the legislature in relation to the now no longer postponable necessities of promoting a modernization and a democratization both of our public institutions, of the state and its administrations, and of social and industrial relations.

The task of defining the objectives and instruments of the new reformism, of translating general perceptions into clear orientations and into a program of action, was carried out by the Programming Conference of Rimini.

At Rimini, effectively, the PSI was capable of recognizing and representing, from the point of view of the general interests of Italian society, the complexity of the modern world of labor and the diverse and far-removed social elements of contemporary Italy who are interested in change, opening themselves up to the exigencies and the new needs that have emerged both in the area of professionalism and in the area of marginalization.

The historic vocation of reformist socialism was expressed from that time on --and in an especially detailed way in the platform for the political elections of 1983--as a synthesis of modernization and democratization of the state, and as a twofold process toward a just society and a governing democracy.

Just after the PSI's Rimini conference, the DC held its national congress, in search of a leadership and a policy that were charged with values and meanings of rebelliousness and contentiousness even toward its allies and especially toward the PSI.

Various political and economic forces inside and outside the DC put pressure on the relative-majority party, pestering it to take an approach more in line with the conservative models prevalent in several Western democracies and to rebuild the primacy of the DC on such bases, overcoming the alternation and the equal standing with the secular and socialist forces.

Between June 1982 and June 1983, there was no truce in the polemic between the political allies, and this situation resulted in three successive crises of government, despite the fact that some notable results were achieved in that period, not the least of which was the agreement on the cost of labor of 22 January 1983.

Convinced of its own correctness, the PSI, in order to discourage foolish aspirations and conservative temptations and also to avoid definitive lacerations, took on the responsibility of asking for early political elections and making the people the judge of disagreements that did not seem susceptible of resolution within the given political framework.

The results of the elections of 26 June brought out and deepened the crisis of the bipolarism and the imperfect two-party character of the Italian political system that had already been manifested in the preceding political elections in 1979.

The crisis of trust that in a few years beset both the DC and the PCI is expressed in the overall loss of 12 percentage points--6 points each--as between the two consultations of 1979 and 1983.

More than 4 million voters shifted their preference to other political formations, mainly in the secular and socialist area, or to local and sectorial lists or abstention and unmarked ballots.

The DC and the PCI, which in 1976 represented more than 74 percent of the Italian voters, represented less than 63 percent of them in 1983.

The socialist area and the area of the intermediate secular forces grew, to different degrees in their various components, going from 18 to 24 percent of the electorate and thus absorbing about half of the strength lost by the major forces, thus finding a base of consensus that is quite a bit broader and is articulated with the growth of their own political role.

From another point of view, the election results signaled the spread of protest voting and exasperation with proportionalism and microrepresentation that also broke out into localistic, sectorial and corporative protest.

The meaning of the elections of 26 June therefore calls for responses both on the political level and on the institutional level, and it is the task of the ninth legislature to define both of them along the line of democratic and reform-oriented collaboration that must have as their constant frame of reference the exigencies and possibilities of peace, of international security and cooperation, of the economic and technological restoration and progress of our country, of development of equality and equitability, of modernization of the state and of its administrative structures, of institutional renovation and renovation of the public spirit, of a thoroughgoing combat against modern and organized criminality.

#### The Socialist Presidency and the Tasks of the Ninth Legislature

94) The Ninth Legislature was inaugurated with the ascent, for the first time in the history of Italy, of a socialist to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

The Socialist presidency has not come by chance or because of any incongruity of history. From an historical point of view, it is the fruit of a long and consistent autonomist and reformist battle.

While history, its own errors and the Italian electoral system have not so far enabled the PSI to enjoy mass consensus comparable to that of the European socialist parties, the reformist and autonomist posture that the entire PSI has finally regained have enabled it to present its own candidacy for the leadership of the country.

From the immediate political point of view, the socialist presidency derives from the rejection of bipolarism that matured in all the secular and socialist forces in the eighth legislature and from their lively and dialectic collaboration, already tried out positively with the Spadolini presidency. It derives also from the fact of the DC--the entire DC--taking cognizance of the electoral outcome. The elections marked, in fact, an early defeat of the temptation to exclude and cut down the size of the PSI by postulating the possibility and opportunity of rebuilding a hegemony on bases more moderate than the same ones traditionally tried.

From this point of view, one does not see either the sense or the usefulness of the idea that the five-element party with socialist participation and leadership should be dominated by the intent or idea of setting itself up as an alternative to the PCI. First of all, because the PCI may very well

develop a preconceived and destructive opposition, as it has been doing for months, but it may not in turn set itself up as a practicable political alternative. Secondly, because the political and programmatic bases of the majority are those of an agreement between the lay and Catholic center and the democratic and reformist left.

In the coalition, the weight of the forces of the center remains considerable, to be sure. But they are committed today to pursuing aims of rationalization and modernization of the productive and administrative apparatus. They have also declared their desire to pursue these objectives not through recourse to conservative, monetarist and recessive therapies but rather with fiscal, financial and social rigor and equitability and through an overall and consensual incomes policy--in substance, on the basis of an objective and detailed analysis and of the specific kinds of attention that must be dedicated to it.

In its 7 months of life, the government of the Republic has achieved important results in various fields. With the finance and budget law, passed by the Parliament for the first time in years and years without having to make use of a provisional arrangement, the premises were laid for initiating a reform of public finance and for control of debt, deficit and expenditure that had become a veritable bottomless pit.

With the agreement on the cost of labor, currently under examination by the Parliament--an agreement subscribed to by all the social, trade-union and productive representations, with the exception of the Communist component of the CGIL--the first and most difficult step has been taken in the battle against inflation, which penalizes the productive economy and Italian labor.

Consequently, there has been a start on reduction of the discount rate and the cost of money, and on keeping fees, administered prices and the rent system below the programmed inflation ceiling.

Clear and obligatory commitments have been made for developing a fundamental struggle against tax evasion and erosion.

Measures have been taken that are aimed at protecting employment and creating new job positions, especially for young people and especially in the Mezzogiorno, while actions and incentives for technological modernization of the productive apparatus are under examination by the Council of Ministers.

With the lay-oriented revision of the Lateran Pacts and the subsequent agreements with other religious groups, widely disputed aspects of the concordat system have been settled, by positing the best premises for more serene cohabitation and mutual independence as between the Italian state and the Catholic Church.

The government of the Republic has moved straight ahead and courageously on the various chessboards--from the Euromissiles to Lebanon--on which it had stated its commitment, and it has done so in accordance with criteria and approaches that are characteristic of the Italian socialists too:

obstinately seeking peace, ensuring security, taking on initiatives that are responsible and in a spirit of loyalty to Italy's allies.

With the socialist presidency, our responsibility, that of the PSI, toward the country and toward the international community and its complex and unresolved problems has been accentuated.

Thus, our duty to nurture and feed the basic motivations for the government alliance and solidarity with all those who share and work faithfully and seriously for development of action in the areas of restoration, equitability and revival is accentuated too.

The experiment in progress rests also on the political and numerical nonexistence of any alignment of forces intent on excluding the DC, and its objectives do not include that of promoting such an alignment. This does not mean that the political season opening up for the PSI is necessarily, or by our desire, in conflict with evolution of the choices and of the political relationships.

It does mean, though, that this season has a value in itself, its own prospects. Other seasons will arise from the nature of things and from people's capacity and desire to create different prospects and conditions of political equilibrium.

The value and outlook of the present alliance would have nothing to gain from immersing itself in the shifting sands of necessity, eating itself up day after day in a governing situation that is difficult in any case and disappointingly compensated for by headlong rushes by political operators who do not know how to work on realities other than political maneuvering in itself.

The problems that the government means to tackle and solve are by nature such as to require great and solidly unified commitment, a real convergence of political wills and a high and common capacity for decision-making.

The forces that support the government can make their joint effort more solidly unified only by drawing as best they can from their traditions, basing their practical action on the best values of their respective traditions.

The values of the popular political tradition of the democratic Catholics, the values of modern liberalism, the values of republican democracy, democratic socialism's values of equitability and liberty. There is a level of commitment in this experience that the government cannot reach by itself, without the initiative and collaboration of a parliamentary and political majority.

There is a qualitative leap from governability to reform that can be made only through a rich, committed, constructive policy of the majority.

The programmatic bases that the government has come out with, as clear, coherent and widely shared as they are, do not contain answers for everything,

they cannot solve in advance all the problems that the government has been and will be confronted with in all the fields in which its authority is exerted.

An active policy on the part of the majority, the parliamentary groups and the parties that subscribe to it, a policy capable of drawing on the great reserves of cultural and social energies that each democratic force has available to it: that is what is needed, and the conditions for its possibility are beginning to be perceived.

The 16th Congress of the DC

95) The DC's congress seemed to have overcome the postelection trauma, though the DC did confront it with notable unity. By that fact, the reasons for conflict with or resentment toward its allies seemed to have been overcome also.

The congress expressed not only an unreserved support for the government, in which the DC is putting out a decisive effort, at the highest level.

The report by Secretary De Mita and the congress' concluding resolutions contain the political proposal to give the current five-party alliance an outlook of broader scope.

This represents an important and committing proposal, one that is positive in terms of the political desire for collaboration that it manifests and that is free of those interpretations that had kept it from being entertained in the preceding formulations.

The positive and constructive aspect of the proposal cannot be allowed to drop out of sight, and the PSI will not permit it to do so.

It could ensure coherence of political-programmatic approaches in the legislature and stability in governmental action.

Furthermore, the PSI's position, expressed with absolute clarity in the election campaign, is well-known. The two political proposals can come together positively in relation to the aware and concrete development of favorable political conditions on the basis of a shared success in the joint experiment that has been started. Let us look at the possibility of developing the current program alliance into a legislative alliance, in an open and constructive spirit.

We could not, however, go along with alternative strategies tending to reproduce an essentially bipolar pattern as between the DC and the PCI, whether considered as a permanent datum of the political system or repropounded as the result of a process tending toward so-called "accomplished democracy." This is an approach to which we cannot lend our adherence.

In no case, indeed, can the PSI renounce its own autonomy of ideas and political and social autonomy or, consequently, the expression of its own vision of the possible solutions for the political problems of contemporary Italy.

This holds true also for local government, where there are no socialist prejudices against alliances with the DC, still less any theorizing about a superiority on the part of the red municipal councils. These have proved numerous in other political eras, and in consideration of the political relationships and of the local electoral data, they can be strengthened or overcome in relation to the administrative results achieved and to the conditions of possibility of renewal of them.

#### Special Collaboration with the PSDI [Italian Social-Democratic Party]

96) With the elections of 26 June and the socialist presidency, the grounds for conflict that arose at the end of the last legislature appear to have been nullified.

The parliamentary and governmental relations between the two parties are going through a propitious season, while joint action in the European Parliament, in the local administrations and in the trade-union movement has been consolidated.

It is our warm desire also to increase direct collaboration between the parties, to make the most of the common traditions, reflection on the objectives and the instruments of modern reformism.

We are open to and interested in evaluation and joint and more committing political actions which, in a spirit of autonomy of the organizations, could multiply the initiative of Italian democratic socialism and its possibilities for service to the world of labor, of human and civil rights, of peace and security.

#### The Lib-Lab Dialogue

97) Born of the principle that an old irreconcilability could be overcome, the cultural dialogue between socialists and Liberals has developed in uninterrupted political collaboration since 1979. We have shared important responsibilities in these years, and the most important are those in which the two parties are currently involved in the governing of the Republic.

Along with the subjects of freedoms and of human and civil rights, socialist and Liberal thinking can recombine creatively also in relation to the big questions of the complex modern societies, at grips with the abuses and caprices on the part of various powers vis-a-vis the citizens and individuals.

#### The PRI Position

98) The PRI brings to collaboration in the government the contribution of its most prestigious leaders and of a constant adherence to the approaches and programs agreed upon.

Some reservations and differences are normal to the dialectic of the majority and to the necessity of each party's making its own identity clear, while faithful support of the government has never been denied.



Those who belong to the PSI and to the PRI have their roots in the democratic, patriotic, independence-minded and internationalist tradition of our Risorgimento. Subsequent history led to parallel developments, sometimes in unity, as in certain actions, in the antifascism of Justice and Liberty and the action party, in the political will that led to the republican victory, in the programmatic and reformist orientation of the first center-left coalition, in several lay-oriented battles, in the affirmation of a principle of alternation of the political leadership of the country, in the calls for rationality and reform of the public institutions.

We are convinced that what has united and can unite the PRI republicans and the socialists in political action is far more significant than the elements--even objective ones--of rivalry and competition, and our conduct has been and will continue to be inspired on that basis.

#### The PR [Radical Party] Crisis and the Resurgence of Extremism

99) The Radical Party, which at the end of the 1970's had garnered significant public-opinion and electoral successes by interpreting in, indeed, a radical manner, widespread demands for renovation of the language, style and objectives of democratic policy, has been going through a profound crisis for several years.

The socialists are concerned that the PR should root out the causes of this crisis and succeed in restoring a circuit of ideas, proposals and initiatives that contribute to a renovation of the cultural patrimony of the Italian left.

The crisis of radical pacifism, of the ideals of nonviolence, of substantial commitment on human rights, would indeed open up other roads to the resurgent extremism of the opposition left and to an unpredictable chain of negative consequences already experienced by Italian society and by the younger generations.

#### The Opposition from the Old and New Right

100) The attempt at reform has adversaries not only on the communist, classist and opposition left but also in the conservative and even the reactionary sectors of society and of the political world.

The most traditional part of this right-wing opposition and this right-wing alternative is represented by the MSI [Italian Social Movement]. The socialists cannot help but reassert their political aversion to it, but without ghettoizing anyone--still less anyone who might really want to change--but also without agreeing to a further proposal of ideas and experiments that have been condemned once and for all by history.

The newest part of the right-wing opposition is that group within the sectors of economic, financial and information-media power that is favorable to a drastic downgrading of political and party democracy, of its area of initiative and action, and a change in the role of the state as a redistributor of wealth and income and as an economic and social entrepreneur.

The new Italian right does not have a political design or an autonomous culture of its own: it takes indifferently, from the right or the left, all opportunities that permit it to affirm its own specific powers and its own elitist culture, even at the cost of a deterioration of democratic ideals and practice. It is also disposed to make verbal concessions and to grant political roles to the more backward ideological left, provided that it results in an augmentation and consolidation of its real powers.

#### The Communist Opposition

101) The PCI's opposition to the coalition government presided over by the secretary of the PSI--an opposition incipient when the idea of a socialist presidency was only an hypothesis--began quite a bit before the government obtained the confidence of the two houses. Thereafter, it has remained constant on all the significant occasions, with the exception of the revision of the Concordat. It has been confirmed openly in relation to all the essential acts of domestic and international policy, and it reached an exasperating level with regard to the promulgation of the anti-inflation decree.

On various occasions, the secretary of the PCI has, in toruous ways and with pragmatic offers of availability directed toward the most various moderate sectors, indicated as his party's political objective, in the absence of a change of course, the fall of the first Socialist-presidency government, which should be followed by an indeterminate "different government," a Ministry of Program without a program, founded on a majority without a majority.

The very serious breakup of the unitary federation and the crisis arising in the unity of the CGIL, and the growing confusion and substitution of roles as between the party and the trade union, have thus been justified as, on the one hand, imperative necessities for a "modern revolutionary party" and, on the other, as instruments for persuading conservative sectors of society and of the political system, with actions of force, to make an antireform compromise.

Thus return the inauspicious binomials of revolution and conservatism, of sectarianism in the public arena and compromises at the top, thanks to which the cultural hegemony of the PCI on the Italian left and the political opportunities created by the election successes and by the context of national unity faded away together at the end of the 1970's.

We are well beyond the historical errors committed by the Communist opposition with regard to the first experiences of the center-left. Both because the socialist presidency is not in any way reducible to experiences of subordination or of moderate normalization and therefore would have constituted and could constitute even for the PCI a positive reference-point and an opportunity for evolutive revision and because the fight that is being waged against it, not without intrigues and intolerance, sometimes appears to throw off every restraint of wisdom.

The insolent resurfacing of an approach based on agitation and antireform compromise not only throws light on the equivocal nature of the proposals for alternative strategies but also introduces further and diffuse elements of division, both in the trade union movement and in the complex sphere of political relations.

In the international arena too, the PCI is showing obvious signs of recession of its independence of judgment and approach, after the hopes aroused by a contradictory and conflict-ridden process of autonomy from reference to the system of the communist states and parties. The involution of domestic policy is thus connected to the involution of international policy.

From the congress to today, the PCI has in effect traveled an involutive route to the point of characterizing its participation in the peace movements with ill-concealed expressions of unitariness that have made evident the distances from other, non-Leninist sectors of those movements: from the Radicals to the ecologists to the most representative tendencies of Christian and Catholic inspiration.

This distinct change of approach calls for a clarification, in the absence of which a chapter would be closed that had aroused appreciation and brought encouragement, and is causing a reemergence, with all its negative weight, of the line and limitations of a traditional postulation.

#### Development of the Reformist Initiative

102) In 1976, quite a few commentators in Italy considered that not only was the historic opposition between Socialist reformism and Communist hegemonism overcome but that a full victory by the latter was to be foreseen, since, in its evolution and in its practical tractability it seemed to have taken on also the method and experience of the former, bending it to a hegemonic culture and to a superior force.

From 1976 to today, and vice versa, reformism has experienced--not without obstacles, delays and contradictions that are still open--important developments and a new vital current relevance.

It has diffused mainly within the Socialist Party, through a vast and profound cultural, political and generational renewal that has attracted ideas, proposals, energies, people and currents of diverse inspiration on the solid ground of emancipation of the workers and of affirmation of the world of labor, in its presuppositions of liberty and democracy, in its instruments of solidarity, in its objectives of equality and equitability, of modernization and development of all of society in the form that it has today, with its conflicts, its complexity, its possibilities for revival.

Just as the identity and unity of the PSI are inseparable from cultural reconquest and political reaffirmation of the values and the space of reformism, so also the possibilities for a wider rooting and advancement of a democratic prospect are inseparable from development of the reform initiative.

This development requires that reformism be gauged in an increasingly open manner and one that increasingly takes into account the problems posed by the great changes in progress and by those that are foreseeable in the world of production, in the mode of producing and in the world of labor, in an equitable reconstitution of the social and welfare state, in reform of the public institutions and of democratic political activity itself.

Reformism as a method, theory and praxis for the useful and possible changes works toward development of all of society and bases its particular assumptions and hopes on the ethic of liberty, equitability and solidarity and on the complex of coherent actions aimed at multiplying the possibilities of use for all the citizens by enhancing the conditions--in terms of work, education, health, professionalism, social security--most favorable to development of the personality and the self-fulfillment of all the citizens and, therefore, of the weakest and least-protected classes in particular.

While development of the reformist initiative appears more promising today, it also depends on the fact that reformist language and trends are emerging in very diverse social and political areas and that they also seem to be orienting toward a common framework of values, methods and reference-points for experience.

The deepening of the outlooks for reform and the involvement of a broader context of political, cultural, social and trade union groups in these outlooks are indicating both objectives and instruments for development of the reformist initiative.

The world of labor that is organized in a trade union and political way is the party mainly interested in evolution in the direction of reform. The problems of the internal democracy of the trade unions, of adequate representation of the various occupational figures who inhabit the modern world of labor of a complex society, committed to technological innovation, the problems of autonomy and unity among the various practical currents and the various sources of ideal inspiration, cannot be solved outside the framework of hypotheses that are reformist in methods and in objectives.

At the time of formation of the government, the president of the Council called on the reformist and reformatory traditions and vocations present and active in the governmental majority--traditions and vocations of diverse inspiration: liberal, democratic, social and Christian--asking for their contribution and collaboration. From these inspirations and from their programmatic and operational convergence with socialist reformism, the governmental approach can be strengthened and consolidated, and the majority itself can base on them political hypotheses of greater commitment and broader scope.

Identification of the essential objectives of reform action in the institutional, economic and social field, on the grounds of tax equitability and scientific, cultural and educational renewal, constitutes or will constitute, the best contribution to the fundamental rationale of the alliance, to its consolidation and development.

The actual political reality of the Italian left, with its burden of discord and divisions, brings out again the necessity of basic choices between autonomy and subordination of the trade union movement; between general responsibility and sectorial dispersal; between the organization of peace in security and a confused and equivocal pacifism; between unitary development of reformist possibilities and hypotheses and oscillation between historical compromise and an equally historical opposition.

On all these themes, the PSI considers it indispensable to develop encounter, discussion, clarification, with constant reference to the world of labor and to the widest public opinion possible, through detailed analysis of the facts and identification of--wherever they might be found--the positions and tendencies open to and available for dialogue, commitment to move ahead on all fronts, from the cultural to the political, from the social to the trade union, with development and full diffusion of the possibilities for modern reformism.

Precisely because we recognize the great democratic and reformist potentialities of a party such as the PCI, we view with great concern the enormous damage that could be caused to the world of labor and to the Italian left by a cultural involution on its part.

Precisely because we see and at the same time gauge the possibilities and risks of the current situation, we do not ask the PCI for a general moderation, not even for the availability and compliance shown in other eras toward government and programs that had nothing to do with the Italian left.

What we do ask is that the PCI really give shape and design to a reformist challenge from the left that would really propound hypotheses that are more advanced, more progressive and more just from the point of view of the general interests of the country, of its economic compatibilities in relation to the international competition, of its social and civil evolution, and therefore of the evolution of new possibilities for the world of labor and for the political and trade union left.

The conditions of democratic life and the problems opened in Italian society necessitate the development of the reformist initiative on all levels: in the area of economic and financial rigor and of tax and social equitability; of the commitment for productive revival, employment and technological development; of advantageous use and adequate representation of the modern occupational modes in which the world of labor is articulated; of thoroughgoing combat against the intolerable inequalities of the old and new perversities; of the exclusion and marginalization of the young, especially in Italy's Mezzogiorno; of institutional renewal and of the thoroughgoing combat against big crime, the spread of drugs, the perils of a revival of terrorism.

The political and trade union left cannot evolve or grow outside of and against the frame of reference of values, experiences, objectives of modern reformism which, without significant differences, characterizes the democratic and pluralist socialism of the entire West.

To pit against this approach a so-called "revolutionary" approach, even if a modern one, means in reality to slip back into the paralyzing patterns of archaic ideologies.

The political and trade union left cannot either evolve or grow outside or against the reformist hypothesis, outside and against a culture and praxis of the useful and possible changes, of the necessity of governing these changes from the point of view of the general interests of Italian society, of its problems and its concrete possibilities.

#### Party Reform

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 16-17

[Article: "Party Reform"]

[Text] A modern party needs political cadres who have a strong capacity for critical analysis and for professional preparation.

#### The Social Transformations and the New Political Protagonists

103) The current dynamics of transformation in the systems of production and consumption, at both the economic and cultural levels, have modified the system of social organization and of interpersonal relationships (and it is easily foreseeable that they will modify them even more in the coming years).

In the same context with the emergence of new, highly specialized occupational categories, new social figures have emerged who, in turn, generate new social attitudes, values and expectations. And just as the range of occupations is tending to become specialized in terms of particular and limited functions in a new organization of labor, so also is the social identity of individuals being shaped on narrower bases than in the past, as regards the specific experiences of work and life.

At a time when the diversification of roles and social figures is increasingly accentuated, so also is fragmentation of subjective interests being accentuated, to the point that the processes of aggregation, social solidarity and collective identity are tending to develop in frameworks that are differentiated in relation to the traditional aspects, situations and structures.

The very processes of socialization, which are far more spontaneous and situation-related than in the past, are being created on the basis of subjective and individual thrusts and needs and are also being reproduced in the form of diffuse associationism, and it is difficult to reduce them to an overall strategy of involvement, on account of which they very often evade the interpretation and control capacity of the organized structures, and escape the praxis of pure and simple mediation or of a search for consensus.

The differentiation of the life-model options are having the effect of bringing out further elements of transformation and new needs that individuals, even of different social origins, are identifying and finding for themselves, on account of which new aggregations, new group identities and new political choices are being created. These are social realities that express elements of change and prefigure the characteristics of an open society, even if the dynamism of the new and the continuance of the old prefigure the characteristics of an open society. This is a dynamism that modifies the very concept of politics and prefigures a new mode of conducting politics.

In the face of this reality, every political organization, and the PSI in the first place, since it wants to be a party open to the elements of socialization and associationism that are developing in society, must be capable of understanding, representing and organizing these new social categories, of dealing with the nature and evolution of the social and political conflicts and of the real exigencies that move them.

The PSI, as a traditionally organized structure, is no longer so much the primary and exclusive instrument of political socialization, of education and absolute control over consensus, as in the past, because there exists, in this sociality, a plurality of decentralized decision-making centers, of centers for cultural and social promotion, of formation of consensus, that prescind from the party structures. This shows that a modern, open party, such as the PSI must be, needs political cadres who have a strong capacity for critical analysis and for professional preparation, in order to understand the processes of change that are being manifested in society and in order, at the same time, to select and anticipate the thrusts of innovation and progress that are being expressed in it. The party needs cadres capable of being not only transmitters of an ideological orthodoxy but also active participants in its strategic elaboration and its ongoing capacity for reaction and adaptation to the social transformation, and capable of interpreting the new possibilities of communication developed in the world of the media.

Why Self-Reform of the PSI?

104) Achievement of the objectives of a party capable of opening up to the elements of new socialization and new associationism that are developing in the country implies a critical reflection on the organizational instruments available to us today.

The internal posture of the parties in Italy, and therefore of ours also, is not the result solely of the original basis of their founding or refounding. The parties have in fact been modeled or remodeled by, in addition to the socioeconomic evolution of our structures, also by way of the functioning--for nearly 40 years now--of the rules of our institutional and electoral system.

To date, our political system has been characterized by a mutually intermingled inflexibility and instability, as well as by an extreme

fragmentation, of which the PSI, with its schisms, has in the past been both protagonist and victim.

The electoral system, characterized by a particularly baroque mechanism of preferences, has had a strong effect on the life of the parties, on selection of cadres, on the very financing of political activity and the election campaigns, and on the methods of internal struggle.

Nor does the Communist propounding of the "different party" seem to be a remedy for all this, if one is thinking of modern social evolution, which certainly does not appear to be going in the direction of democratic centralism and of the machine party, but rather toward more flexible and open structures of organization and social consensus.

Today, all this is on the agenda of the institutional-reform process, and to the extent to which it is not, it must become more so through the initiative of the Socialists.

Special attention will be devoted to updating and upgrading the various laws that have followed one another on the subject of public financing of the parties--laws which, it can be said, have not fundamentally solved the problem of clarity in the financing of political activity and have not succeeded, to the necessary extent, in creating the necessary relationship of trust vis-a-vis public opinion.

As more directly regards our internal problems, though, a party such as the PSI, one that has aimed and is aiming at modernizing the Italian political system, combating the dysfunctions that afflict it and reforming it in depth, must equip itself for driving out of its own structure the most general effects of those dysfunctions. This should be accomplished not in the mythical dream of a return to the good old days by a party that is narrowly centralized and controls everything, but by conferring greater dignity on the party responsibilities and carrying the socialist renewal forward, opening itself up to all the forces that could collaborate with us in our battles and our programs.

While, then, our self-reform--in other words, the reform of its structures and its internal modes of life that the PSI means to carry out--can only fall within the framework of the more general necessity of the reform of politics, this does not mean that we must confront our party's problems now and right away. We must, in other words, analyze what we can call our material constitution, the rules relating to membership, participation and involvement in the militants' choices, selection of the leadership group, the financing and self-financing of our activities.

The PSI has a structure that is complex and not easy to classify: it has a sizable number of members but a weak apparatus, a broad stratum of administrators but linking structures with its specific area that are relatively fragile, and channels of connection and communication (evolution of the mass media) with the electorate that are still inadequate despite a territorial organization that is very interconnected and well-articulated.



The painful political vicissitudes of recent years have put the PSI in the middle of the phases of instability of our political system that have followed one another. This has not made it possible to give all the necessary attention to the specific problems of the party and to provide a structure, solid and well-rooted in the hinterland of the country, for that broad and positive process of renewal that has been carried forward since 1976 and that has seen the PSI as the political force in Italy that has been most capable of renewing its representation in Parliament and its own leadership team.

While renewal has gone ahead impetuously at the center, there have been stall situations on the periphery, while the emergence of several dysfunctions and difficulties of control has created cases of malfeasance and has made it necessary, in several federations, to dissolve some organs and place them under trusteeship. All this represents an alarm bell that should not be underestimated and with regard to which it is necessary for the party's national leadership organs to regain greater capacity of guidance and control beyond the external instrumentalization that has nevertheless been there.

This can come about above all by mobilization of the party itself with the political-organizational tension that derives to it from the obligatory tasks that fall to it for the restoration and renewal of Italian society. But a process of that kind must also be based on those new rules of regulation of internal life that were discussed, examined and approved in the federation-secretary conference of Ariccia and in the Central Committee meeting of October 1983.

This--for a party like ours that has broadened its political potential and its capacity of representation but that has not yet succeeded in making a considerable leap in its electoral strength--is a necessity that cannot be put off.

What Self-Reform?

105) The theme of the party is therefore one of the fundamental themes of a congress that presents itself as a unitary event, because our unity itself constitutes a strengthening of the socialist presidency of the Council. A unitary congress does not, however, signify a bureaucratic congress or a ritual one--i.e., one that lacks the capacity to raise the degree of the party's programmatic tension and political preparation.

On the contrary, it means a congress which, precisely because it is unitary, intends to tackle the problems within the party itself in an atmosphere that has a favorable character. Factional struggle therefore must not be replaced by articulation in groups large and small but rather by the capacity to make the PSI's internal life flow easily and to ensure participation and collegiality within it.

The combination of will and purposefulness that we propose must take concrete form in several new rules of behavior on which the party's reform action is working.

The first problem is that of membership, which should be the primary and fundamental means of relationship with the rank and file of the country. We have an ample dues-paying membership, attributable partly to the general phenomenon of mass joining in Italy today. The problem is not to discourage massive joining but rather to avoid purely passive membership, which can actually discourage activity and the dynamic of the party's life. We must therefore infuse this broad base of members with an active, direct action of interest and involvement.

Our federal and regional internal representations are in fact constituted on the basis of dues-paying membership enrollment, and those representations in turn select lists and candidates for the elections. In other words, it is the dues-paying members who, with their votes, delegate to our cadres the exercise of the primary responsibilities of membership. But if the base of the pyramid is uncertain, precarious and sometimes little-known, then the entire structure totters.

The PSI's Directorate has proposed, in an experimental way, a member-enrollment mode (already adopted in the federations under trusteeship and in others that have adopted it voluntarily) aimed at ensuring the member's active participation in the process of party-membership renewal, combating every form of renewal passively conditioned by prominent figures or by groups. This is accomplished through the member's personal reply to the request, sent to him directly by the National Directorate, to renew his membership by immediate payment of the dues; this is done with the active collaboration of the federations themselves.

The experimental program also includes ensuring the possibility of party membership to any one who likes or has actually encountered difficulties and obstacles at the local level, through the possibility of contacting the National Directorate directly.

The second point that merits our attention is that of the voting by the members themselves. During this congress, it has already been decided to opt for member voting on the political documents without any conditions, and therefore secretly. On the other hand, the necessity of adherence, by anyone who is delegated by the vote of others, to the principle of visibility of fulfillment of mandate has been confirmed. The voting is therefore open in the provincial, regional and national congresses, while the principle of secret voting for the persons involved remains firm.

A third point in our self-reform is now achieved: direct election of the provincial and regional secretaries by the congresses. This is a measure that we consider capable of contributing appreciably to the stability of the party's life on the periphery too, where phenomena of instability and disaggregation have been very considerable.

The secretaries elected by the congress will be kept from undue pressures from those who are not interested in an intense party life and can come to possess a stronger and more secure political authority, with greater capacity for orientation, choice and guidance.

Furthermore, it is necessary to start a reform of the center-periphery relationship from the point of view of the administrative and financial management of the party also. This too seems to be a way to strengthen the party and make it more cohesive and to give greater dignity to the peripheral leadership organs.

The congress will also look at adaptation of the national and regional leadership organs from the point of view of the involvement in the life of the party of the broad articulations of the socialist presence in society and in the Italian electorate--naturally, with adherence to the party's rules of internal democracy. We cannot, indeed, accept the idea that the entire socialist area that contributes to our political affirmation should remain extraneous to the life of the party. In parallel, the executive and leadership organs will be given greater effectiveness in order to ensure to the periphery real political and programmatic reference-points and real service centers for orientation of the party's activity.

The organs for control of internal life too must be adapted so as to ensure their constant action of orientation and correction, not just following the emergence of facts that are negative in terms of socialist morality and customs, but preventively, and therefore capable of intervening in a timely way against any degenerative phenomenon.

These represent some primary, fundamental rules for reform of our internal life, rules that are aimed at circumscribing and eliminating the area of possible degenerative phenomena, at stabilizing the transparency and solidity of the democratic rules, at making ideas and energies flow with greater fluidity in the life of the party.

These rules cannot in themselves take the place of political, propositional and reformative tension; rather, they are rules that can support the action of renewal and lead everyone to new forms of behavior.

Besides, this has come about in recent years with the direct election of the party secretary at the congress--an innovation that has made it possible for the life of the party to be more settled.

Finally, one of the phases of the process of reform of the PSI must be a further confirmation of the desire to "open up" the party--concretely, in management of it--to new contributions, including the contribution of women.

With the institution of the statutory rule that guarantees that 15 percent of the membership of the leadership organs shall be women, appreciation of women's political work and recognition of a situation of inequity that had to be eliminated has already been demonstrated in a concrete way.

This 15 percent has never been considered either a defeat or a victory, but rather a guaranteed possibility. At a distance of 3 years from the application of it, the balance-sheet that can be drawn from it is largely positive: a qualitative growth of the party's female political personnel has occurred, and it has been possible to make use of valuable input. The persistence of

this "positive discrimination" is obviously linked to the persistence of resistances that are due to various factors, not secondary among which is the diffidence and traditional underevaluation on the part of men; but in the light of the initial results, the hope of considering this rule a transitory problem does not seem unfounded.

As regards the party's internal organizational problems, the socialists (with the emancipationist phobias overcome), starting, indeed, from the feminist analysis, have come to view the Women's Coordination groups as the organizational form capable of giving a concrete character to the presence of women in the party. It is now necessary to ensure their legitimacy through amendment of Article 43 of the By-Laws.

#### Moving Ahead with Socialist Renewal

106) The tough confrontation that the PSI is carrying on with regard to the economic-policy provisions of the Craxi government shows how necessary it is to carry forward the action of construction of a political-organizational instrument that is increasingly well-rooted in society and in the world of labor, vis-a-vis both its newest protagonists and its more traditional ones. The confrontation that arose after the agreements of 14 February shows that a party that is merely election-oriented and not broadly organized could not have given the socialist presidency of the Council the support of that mobilization which instead it was, on the whole, capable of providing.

We must never forget that what distinguishes the PSI from other European intermediate forces that find themselves working inbetween two large and antagonistic parties is precisely our capacity to represent a large, albeit a minority, part of the world of labor and of the trade union movement of our country.

This is an element that we must not overlook but rather strengthen, and with attention to the new phenomena in the field of the new occupational profiles and the technological transformations that are emerging precipitately in the world of labor.

Thus it is not a matter of loosening the PSI's structures in society but rather of instilling dynamism in the movements and actions of the main part of the party's body, opening it up, in a flexible way, to the outside, to all those who are interested in the socialist program for restoration and reform of Italian society and in their multiform organizations and associations.

The PSI has been called a party that is strong in the making of proposals and conspicuously democratic, and we want to reaffirm this, in the sense of a party that does not limit itself to organizing the disciples of an ideology but that intends to measure itself in the concrete area of reform-oriented response to the problems of Italian society. The experience of the Programmatic Conference of Rimini in 1982 should not be forgotten: it represented a positive indication of method.

A party so constituted can be disinterested in the spontaneous mechanisms of selection and acculturation of its cadres, of its militants and its sympathizers, but must provide them with systematic possibilities for political training and for socialization of knowledge. In this way it will also be in a position to counterbalance the effects that negate the processes, the existing facts, the effects that push broad segments of Italian society out of politics.

This tendency toward exclusion from the rites and modalities of political life is encountered particularly in the case of women. The necessity of promoting their association in the party's internal life even more decisively is thus confirmed.

Our internal renewal is indissolubly linked to the action of renewal and modernization of Italian society.

The self-reform of the PSI therefore is not a process closed within the party itself but rather is purpose-directed toward a greater capacity for relating to society and to our country's electorate.

The next party congress must therefore represent an invitation and at the same time an opening-up to all those who are concerned for the success of the socialist presidency of the Council, and to them we offer an opportunity for debate and live encounter on the problems of the management and working-out of the reformist response to the crisis of Italian society.

Precisely on account of this, the socialist renewal is not something that is achieved once and for all, but is rather a process that must be capable of being reproduced and nurtured, with attention also to the necessity of training a new generation of socialist militants, through an FGSI [Italian Socialist Youth Federation] restructured in more flexible forms than in the past.

Thus the next party congress must also be a new waypoint in that socialist renewal to which the success of the PSI's action in our country is linked.

#### 'Left for Alternative' on Unity

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement pp 18-19

[Article: "With Unitary Effort by the Entire Party--A Contribution to the Debate by the Left--Documents presented by Michele Achilli, on behalf of 'the Left for the Alternative,' to the National Directorate at its meeting of 15 March 1984, as a contribution for the 43rd Congress"]

[Text] The Left for the Alternative, reconfirming the validity and current relevance of the values and the content of the action carried out in recent years, agrees with the necessity of a unitary effort by the entire party, especially with the commitment-laden phase that it is going through taken into account. It therefore takes note of the theses proposed to the party's Directorate as a basis for discussion and submits its own contribution for

enriching the debate, which, precisely because this congress is a "thesis-type" one, must develop freely, without being limited by stiff ranks of motions to be passed or defeated in toto.

Furthermore, we mean in this way to link ourselves in terms of ideals, thought and action with comrades such as Morandi, Basso, Nenni and Lombardi, who have been tenacious protagonists in the battle for the structural reforms.

Internal democracy and the party-government relationship, as well as economic policy and international policy, are obligatory waypoints in the process of a precise definition of our role, and it is on the subject of them that we offer our critical contribution.

The socialists are committed to the successful outcome of a difficult experiment: the five-party government led by the socialists must indeed tackle growing difficulties, both internal and external, daily.

Christian Democrats and PRI members would like to interpret the program in a single sense, limiting its action to the austerity phase, understood as a method for reducing the buying power of wages, salaries and pensions, and putting off to an unspecified future time the phase of "equitability," to be implemented through significant reforms and coherent behavior. On the opposite front, the Communist opposition, after placing credence, in the past years, even in the most disputable of governments presided over by Christian Democrats, is now rejecting any form of dialogue with the Craxi government, repudiating even the results so far achieved and provoking a state of social tension certainly not justified by the decisions taken in the course of the complex economic maneuver and on the cost of labor in particular.

To contribute concretely to the overcoming of this attitude is the task of all the forces that consider it necessary to build an outlook for a progressive alternative to the moderate forces that have hegemonized Italian political life in the postwar period and that are the party's true antagonist.

The socialists have thus been entrusted with the burden of being continuously the offerers of proposals, while no concrete proposals but rather just admonitions and criticisms come from the conservative sectors of the majority and from the opposition.

The slogan that distinguished the PSI's election campaign was "Rigor and Equitability," an inseparable binomial for building a great consensus on: rigor is not a politically colored notion but rather an obligatory route of passage for the industrialized countries' economies in crisis.

But it must necessarily be accompanied by a policy that eliminates the territorial and social inequalities, the privileges--in a word, the injustices--from the equitability phase.

Sacrifices are acceptable if they are proportionate to the various standards of living and income and are purpose-directed toward promoting a policy of development of employment.

This is the positive phase of the government's action, which will have to give substance to the overall economic maneuver in order for the renewal of Italy to be not just an election slogan.

Peace and development are the priority objectives of the socialists; indeed, they have been and still are the elements that characterize our historical tradition.

Reaffirmation of these principles is all the more necessary when, as is happening today, the international tension reaches dramatic points, when the world is forced to witness, powerlessly, the outbreak of regional conflicts, when the economic crisis is penalizing the standard of living of the populations of the industrialized countries and is not making it possible for those of the developing countries to reach civil standards.

War and underdevelopment are the mortal challenges that the world must confront, and the congress reaffirms the socialists' commitment to struggle to rid humanity of these two great disasters that imperil the social, economic and culture evolution of hundreds of millions of persons.

Affirmation, on the international scene, of a new and autonomous European reality is the essential condition for reweaving the threads of dialogue between the two great powers: detente is in fact the ground on which political and economic relations can flourish again--relations that have deteriorated in the course of recent years on account of antihistorical desires for hegemony aimed at wiping out the progress so far achieved toward peace.

An overcoming of the opposition in the form of the military blocs and balanced reduction of tactical and strategic nuclear weapons and of conventional weapons require broad mobilization.

The congress therefore reasserts forcefully the socialists' opposition to the mad and indiscriminate arms race and views the proliferation and diffusion of nuclear devices as its most terrifying aspect. This is all the more absurd inasmuch as in the Western world itself, there is increasingly widespread awareness of the fact that on account of the technological level reached and the overall size of the arsenals, there is no longer any validity to the theory of deterrence.

Limiting oneself to proposing measures aimed at raising the so-called "nuclear threshold," while not ruling out an increase in conventional weaponry, appears as an entirely insufficient choice in the face of a reality characterized by the constantly growing peril of a nuclear conflict "limited" to the European theater, on the postulation, but not concession, that a nuclear encounter between the two superpowers could indeed be limited to Europe, making the respective allies pay the price of it. It is on account of this that a forceful demand must be made for resumption of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States and a broadening of them to include all nuclear weapons, including the strategic ones, so as not to restrict the negotiations themselves just to tactical and theater nuclear weapons.

In this context, the European countries--whether they have their own nuclear armaments or are intended for receiving American or Soviet nuclear warheads--must be able to participate in the negotiations, refusing to play a role solely as passive spectators of a game that is decisive for the fate of humanity, and in the first place, for the peoples of Europe, who today are named to make the biggest payment on the terrifying mortgage of a nuclear conflict, limited or generalized, between the two superpowers.

For all these reasons, the great movement for peace that Europe and Italy have known in recent years is, in its roots, the bearer of traditional values of socialism. It is simply absurd to underestimate their political importance, let alone actually to repudiate them.

The congress reaffirms the absolute necessity of resuming the interrupted talks and calls for a government commitment to carry out all actions necessary for the dialogue to be reestablished. To that end, the congress views favorably the proposal to freeze the production and deployment of new nuclear weapons, in the East as well as in the West. In that way, the PSI's initiative would combine with that of the other socialist forces of the European member countries of NATO, as recently reaffirmed authoritatively by comrade Brandt, president of the Socialist International.

But the threat of nuclear war must not make us forget or underestimate the negative effects of the regional wars in progress: they are in fact the potential fuses for ever vaster conflicts if the causes that produce them are not eliminated.

The eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East are the areas where the local conflicts already present are being pushed to extreme consequences by the direct confrontation between the two big powers, in the attempt, by each of them, to maintain and consolidate their own hegemony.

More incisive action by Europe and by Italy in that area is not only to be hoped for but necessary and impelling if it is desired to avoid dangerous expansions of the hostilities.

Recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to have an independent and sovereign homeland; withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from the occupied Arab territories; reconstruction of the unity and integrity of Lebanon; a guarantee of secure borders for Israel; and an end of the hostilities between Iraq and Iran: these are the starting-points for initiating the pacification of the zone on concrete bases.

The isolation and defeat of all the dictatorships and of the remains of the old and new colonialisms that still oppress many of the nations of Africa, Asia and Central America are the necessary condition for making a real and full self-determination by the peoples possible, along with support for the struggle by the liberation movements committed in the Third World in assertion of the right to national independence.



Liberty and independence presuppose elimination of the economic and social inequalities, of the imbalances of exploitation.

The fight against hunger and underdevelopment is not, indeed, a slogan for a generic sentiment of solidarity but rather a necessary strategic objective both for the liberation of the populations who are suffering from that condition and for the very survival of the populations of the wealthy countries.

Indeed, an enduring continuance of the profound difference in income level and social condition as between the industrialized North and the underdeveloped South cannot be envisioned without an increase in the international tension referred to earlier.

It is for this reason too that the arms race must be opposed--a race that is taking away resources indispensable for the defeat of underdevelopment, thus widening the gap between industrialized countries and developing countries, which in turn is a source of dangerous tensions.

This vicious circle that inevitably involves the countries of the Third World themselves must be broken.

A more equitable distribution of resources that enables the poor countries to develop their economies and makes a new international division of labor possible will in fact be able to ensure the creation and growth of new markets and integration of the economies of the North and the South. Despite the increasingly marginal "cyclical revivals," coming at increasingly long intervals, the economic crisis of the North cannot be resolved by an increase in domestic demand, often achieved by artificial means. Overproduction and unemployment are the inevitable consequences of an unstoppable process of automation which, for the same level of production, will expel a growing number of workers from the production process.

To look at things from another angle, four-fifths of the world's population is suffering from a deficiency of food products or staple necessities. Only the capacity to meet this depressed demand will enable the industrialized countries to come out of the most serious recession that has hit them since the end of World War II; in recent years, their economic activity has in fact been sustained by extensive recycling of financial surpluses, particularly vis-a-vis emerging countries of medium income. It is therefore necessary to continue to feed these flows in order to sustain the demand. From this point of view, the action being carried out by our government through the Department for Cooperation must be considered positive.

Economic policy and international policy are more closely interwoven all the time. The Italian economic crisis cannot, indeed, be resolved within our borders; it requires a joint effort by all the European states, and especially those under socialist political leadership.

## Monetary, Incomes Policy

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement p 19

[Article: "Reform of the Monetary System as the Basis for a New Economic Order"]

[Text] A fundamental action can be carried out by the EEC countries to restore stability to the exchange system. The urgency of a revision of public-expenditure policy.

A new international economic order--the condition for a revival that is not of transient character--will have to be based on the presupposition of a profound reform of the international monetary system so as to achieve more stable rates of exchange and an expansion of international liquidity.

Decisive action by Europe is particularly necessary in order to counter the speculative maneuvering by the United States which, with the absurd over-evaluation of the dollar, is suffocating our economy and jeopardizing the possibility of recovery: the doubling of the value of the dollar in the last 2 years has indeed caused more inflation and has brought about more crisis conditions than has the increase in the cost of energy products.

A concertation on the part of the EEC countries in order to achieve a different monetary policy obviously belongs more to the sphere of political relations than to that of economic measures. Furthermore, the system of military and political alliances to which our country intends to continue to belong requires a parity and equilibrium on the economic level also: at a recent Williamsburg summit meeting, the problem was posed but not resolved, precisely because of the indecision and lack of political will on the European side.

The task of consolidating a common monetary and financial instrument therefore arises again--an instrument that would shelter Europe from the American monetary choices and from the consequent instabilities, constant and cyclical ones, that impede or brake medium-term or long-term programs--by re-launching the European Currency Unit (ECU) at least in the countries of the EMS [European Monetary System], with determination of minimum and maximum "divergence thresholds" that do not require constant reciprocal adjustments and consequent draining of the central banks in order to keep a country's currency within the oscillation "ranges."

Reduction of the inflation differential that Italy is experiencing in relation to the average for the European countries cannot be separated from an analogous commitment to reduction of the disturbing levels of unemployment.

These objectives may appear contradictory if one pays attention to the quantitative data only: indeed, one cannot envision a further expansion of public expenditure in order to create new job positions, just as new private investments cannot help but have the priority aim of greater rationalization of production rather than an increase in the labor force employed.

It is therefore a matter of taking action on the level of a revision of public-expenditure policy: policy on current expenditure and on investment expenditure.

On the first point, a rationalization of the pay and functions jungle as among employees of the state, the parastatal entities and the local entities would lead, if not to savings, certainly to a considerable improvement in the services rendered, the beneficial effects of which would have repercussions on the entire production structure.

On the second point: far more extensive control over the tens of trillions in public funds going to investment, both through the endowment funds for public industry and to private industry through the various forms of contribution and concession, is necessary, in order to determine what part of those resources is being channeled toward actual productive investments, and therefore new job positions, and how much does not end up covering the financial costs.

The Italian left has not so far been able to go into the question of sector policies that have not amounted to anything but a mere defense, sometimes anachronistic, of existing structures, even if unproductive, and even when the trade-union movement has unitarily worked out strategies for programming, it has not succeeded in translating them into operational proposals.

In the last 2 years, the Socialists, with the programmatic conferences of Rimini and Milan, have reconfirmed the centrality of the problem of employment: the proposals formulated for the Labor Agency and for its territorial articulations are a reference-point for coherent governmental action that the socialists are interested in developing simultaneously with the "rigor" phase, which in our acceptance of the term does not mean indiscriminate reduction of income levels but rather elimination of the pockets of parasitism, privilege and tax evasion.

An economic maneuver of this scope requires that a great consensus be formed around it, capable of giving the government the strength to resistance from the consolidated interests, which must be dismantled.

On account of this, the attitude of the Communist component of the CGIL appears all the more incomprehensible inasmuch as the will of the government (or at least of the socialist deputation and of the president of the Council himself) to work in such a direction certainly cannot be called into question.

Despite this, and with all the more reason, the party's effort must be directed toward restoring consensus, through patient and coherent political initiative.

Concrete implementation of the measures aimed at blocking of prices and at development of a new industrial policy is the best demonstration of the fact that the road set out upon is not one way but that the innovative phase is moving hand in hand with the measures for containment of inflation.

There is a tendency in many quarters to underestimate the importance, for reform, of an incomes policy and a tax policy worthy of the name: perhaps because, in the La Malfi tradition, incomes policy has always been understood as a maneuver for containing the incomes of employee workers and not as a policy toward "all" incomes--for employee labor, for independent work, for companies and from capital--just as tax policy has always left big loopholes for evasion or enormous legitimate exemptions, which only the decisive action of socialist ministers has recently sought to close.

So it is, then, that the fight against inflation and unemployment takes on precise and concrete significance only if it is backed by profound modifications of the political commitment of the five-party coalition [and] of the behavior of the state apparatus: the very survival of this government and, therefore, of this majority are linked to the capacity to solve the problems that have dragged out unsolved to date, constituting a more than secondary cause of the profundity of the crisis that we are going through.

The road that the government must take is therefore clear, and the party's task is just as obvious.

If everyone fulfills his task, the phase of transition that we are going through can become a point of departure for new coalitions.

#### Party Organization

Rome AVANTI in Italian 20 Mar 84 Supplement p 20

[Article: "Organizing the Party to Respond to the Problems of the Changing Society"]

[Text] The meaning of the renovation of the existing structures. The search for consensus. The question of enrollment of dues-paying members. Making the most of the existing energies, in a unitary vision.

The party, its organization, the rules for joining it, the method for arriving at decisions and for selection of the local and central leaders, control of the forms of financing, and finally, the rules of internal democracy: these are at the center of the discussion in the congress.

For some time, the question has been raised of how the evolution of society and the new relationships brought about as a result of the considerable mutations in the systems of production and consumption have transformed the political coalitions too.

From the Florence Conference of 1975 to the last Central Committee meeting, the centrality of the problem has always been recognized, but no concrete step has been taken.

In the meantime, on the level of public opinion, the subject has become a controversial one; there is a tendency to assign responsibility for several of the deteriorations of the system to the parties, to their encroachment and their power. To be sure, a process of deterioration of the internal relations in the parties has definitely occurred: the more general crisis that has hit society as a whole could not help but affect the parties.

They have been gradually transforming themselves: instead of ensuring a constant flow of opinions, judgments and operational suggestions, from the more active part of the population to the institutions' decision-making occasions, they have, on the contrary, seen the consolidation of interests of small and large fiefdoms, of apparatuses that are impermeable, if not refractory, to the more general exigencies of civil society.

Not only has the Socialist Party not escaped this logic, but on the contrary, because of the fragility of its structures, especially the peripheral ones, it has had to experience phenomena of deterioration that have harmed its image a great deal; nor is it helpful to declare that such phenomena have been exaggerated by the press for ulterior purposes. It is an undeniable fact that in more than one situation on the periphery, it has been possible for groups of free-thinking individuals to appropriate the party structures to themselves for purposes which, euphemistically, can be described as extrainstitutional, without any internal organ's intervening in a timely way.

The "moral question" correctly brought to the forefront by the more sensitive part of the active membership cannot be minimized or rejected: it represents a test bench for a leadership group that wants to bring the party back to being the authoritative representative of increasingly broad segments of workers and citizens.

A far-reaching reform of the Central Control Commission is the first step for ensuring effective transparency of the behavior of comrades delegated to representative functions.

Removal of the causes of the deteriorations cannot help but affect the amending of the election law and of the preferential-vote system, which in many cases is becoming an alibi for behavior that lies at the limits of legality.

The declared commitment to a radical renovation of the party has too often resulted fruitlessly in interminable and devious magical solutions: the fabrication of new organizing structures has not produced any appreciable results, while, without any intervention, there has been a progressive deterioration of the sections, which is the only instrument that functions (more or less correctly) and is capable of ensuring a connection with the external reality.

In our view, renovation means a progressive and continual improvement of the existing structures, promoting other forms of search for consensus, stimulating the comrades' presence in all the mass organizations and in all the articulations of society.

A party that wants to know and interpret the humors of the most sensitive sections of society and its electorate, even if potential, must be able to have "antennas" positioned at strategic points so as to be able to utilize such information and translate it into political behavior.

Very often, though, comrades assigned by the party to organisms or associations are left to themselves and not used.

The modifications proposed in order to make the peripheral structures (provincial and regional federations) more "governable," such as direct elections of the secretaries, could become a dangerous temptation to summit-oriented simplification if not accompanied by a revitalization of collegial leadership and leadership of the sections; indeed, there has for some time been a gradual draining of them, an absence of debate, an increasingly accentuated conformism, thus bringing about a form of unconditioned delegation at increasingly narrow summits.

This is resulting in an impoverishment of the internal dialectic and a decrease in active participation by all the comrades: frank and open discussion is evidence of vitality and cultural richness, while a leveling-off pattern is always a sign of incapacity of elaboration.

Self-reform may not overlook the essential question of enrollment of members: joining the party must not be a tortuous and difficult task, as happens in many federations; on the contrary, the sections should be open to input from new active members. Too often, instead, there is a swelling of enrollments that are only nominal, functional to the formation of preestablished leadership groups, with the inevitable degenerative phenomena. Payment of enrollment dues--the first duty of every comrade--is entirely ignored in many instances and is replaced by financial support from groups who pay the dues for "their" members.

Determination of suitable instruments for putting an end to this widespread practice is a responsibility that the congress must take on unanimously.

Every proposal that is aimed at making the most of energies and intelligence, capacities and merits, in a unitary vision, and that does not discriminate against dissent, must be the point of departure for true self-reform.

A live, vital party, articulated in all the sectors of society, is the essential condition for its development; a party capable of attracting the attention of the forces interested in change is the objective that we must aim at.

It must live an autonomous life, it must be capable of producing representation, in the local governments as well as in the national one, without ever becoming identified with it.

This is all the more true when one participates in coalition governments, and it is fundamental to the present situation: the best contribution that

the party can make to the Craxi government's experience is neither to lie low nor to defend every government measure uncritically, but rather active stimulation of the Socialist deputation to work toward the essential points of the socialist program, an active presence in society so as to create the broadest consensus around the effort for renewal that the socialists are carrying out in the government.

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